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SUMMARY OF IRISH HISTORY.

SUMMARY OF IRISH HISTORY,

FROM THE REIGN OF HENRY II.

TO THE BEGINNING OF THE PRESENT CENTURY;

WITH AN

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER:

BY

SELINA MARTIN,

AUTHOR OF "THREE YEARS' RESIDENCE IN ITALY," ETC. ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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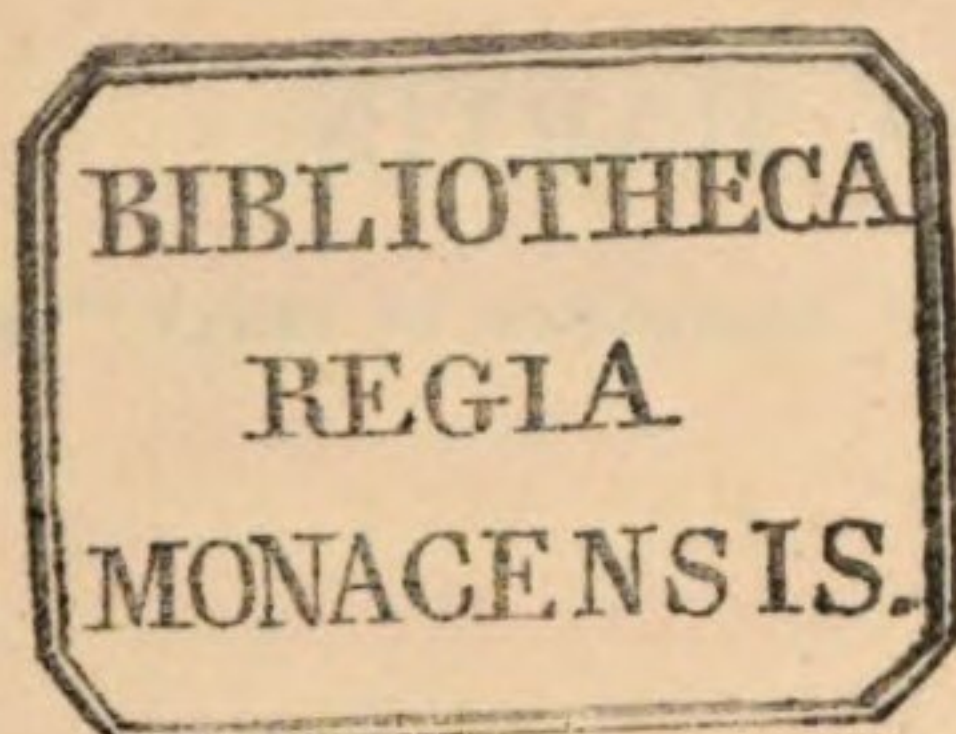
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TO

SIR ROBERT HARRY INGLIS, BART., M.P.,

THIS

SUMMARY OF IRISH HISTORY

IS DEDICATED,

BY HIS

OBLIGED AND GRATEFUL FRIEND.

SELINA MARTIN.

THE ROBERT BAKER TOWNE, JR.

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P R E F A C E.

THE unsettled state of Ireland, from the eighth century, when invaded by Danish and Norwegian forces, and subsequently, when compelled by force of arms to submit to English domination, presents an unvarying struggle to regain its freedom and former position. A connected narrative of facts is not found in any of the different records which have been preserved. They consist of a confused detail of local feuds, insurrections, and unproductive intestine broils, which occupy folio pages as tedious as they are uninteresting. In taking them up, the attention of the reader soon wearies, and the heavy volume is laid aside.

In the "Summary of Irish History" now offered to the public, a mere sketch is given of some of these details, whilst the greater proportion is omitted, in order to give place to more important and instructive matter. Many particulars are given to enliven the narrative, which are not noticed in the numberless abridgments of Irish history, which, in times past and present, have issued from the press.

The authorities quoted by the writer, will be found at the bottom of the pages throughout the history.

In studying the history of Ireland, with all the miseries entailed upon that unhappy country, the intelligent reader may easily trace the source of the evil. Popery has been, and is, the bane of Ireland—bigotry, dark superstition, and prejudice, enslave the people, and keep them bound down in chains of iron. They will not free themselves from the most intolerable of all bondages.

The Irish histories, in general, which I have read, are, at the least, very lenient to this real, and long-existing evil. Dread of giving offence has kept back many facts which serve to unveil the hideous deformity of popery. Compromising measures never have succeeded, nor ever can succeed. It is impossible to serve God and Baal. The present time calls us to consider the question,—“How long halt ye between two opinions? If the Lord be God, follow him; but if Baal, then follow him.”*

In reference to this subject, I must say, that I feel much satisfaction and pleasure in quoting a few of the strong arguments of my highly-esteemed friend, Sir Robert Harry Inglis, in his speech delivered in the House of Commons, on the third reading of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, May 10, 1825.—“From the tyranny over the human mind, thus exercised by the Church of Rome, wherever it has power, I draw this conclusion, that to give it new power anywhere, would be most unsafe: and if it were given on the ground that the Church of Rome has changed its character, would be most contrary to the evidence of facts. It has still the same grasping, dominant, exclusive, and intolerant character: it is weaker, indeed, than it was, but it carries with it everywhere the same mind. You have, indeed, shorn and bound the strong man; but the secret of his strength is still upon him: and if, from whatever motive, you admit him into the sanctuary of your temple, beware, lest the place and the opportunity should call that strength into action; and with all the original energies of his might restored for the occasion, he should pull down the temple of the constitution upon you, and bury you and your idols, and himself, in one common ruin.”

On the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, Wednesday, April 14, 1847, Sir R. H. Inglis thus addressed the House,—

“When I recollect that the present bill, within the last month, nearly met with its rejection by this house; and that it

* 1 Kings, xviii. 21.

was saved by a majority of only three, and that a bill almost precisely the same, was, as it ought to have been, rejected by a majority of 120 to 80 in the course of the last session, I think the most fastidious member of this house will not accuse me of giving any unwarrantable trouble to the house, when I asked them to reverse their last decision, and to return to that sounder course of policy which they adopted last year, when they rejected a similar measure. And when I consider the immense importance of the principle involved in this matter, I trust I have still less reason to apologise to the house for intimating, thus early, my intention of again taking the sense of the house upon this question. Sir, this is one of a series of measures having the direct tendency to unprotestantise the constitution of England, and to degrade its church. But it is not a question affecting the Church of England only—it is a question affecting the protestantism of England; and I trust that those protestants who are not united with the church in respect to certain formularies, which I myself regard as of the greatest importance, but which they do not look upon in the same light—I trust that those protestants will support, in this house, as I know they have supported out of doors, the rejection of this bill. I am aware that the hon. and learned member for Kinsale (Mr. Watson) has given notice, in the votes of the house, of sundry alterations, and of the insertion of new clauses in the bill, which he regards as likely to mitigate the opposition which the measure has hitherto received. But, in the first place, these clauses, as announced in the votes, touch nothing but the latter part of the bill, that portion of the bill which would virtually repeal certain clauses in the Roman Catholic Emancipation Act of the year 1829. They leave perfectly unamended the larger portion of the bill, which refers to those earlier provisions and securities taken by the constitution of England in favour of its church, and of its protestantism.

“ Seeing the hon. and learned gentleman, the Attorney-General, in his place, I wish to call his attention to a legal objection which I entertain to the bill as it now stands, or even as it may be modified by the proposed amendments.

“ I consider that England is, at this moment, a protestant state and empire; and I consider that the provisions of this bill tend to destroy that character. I admit, indeed, that persons who are not protestants have been allowed, by the act of 1829, to take a share in the legislation of this empire; I admit still more, that there are members of communions dissenting from the Church of England, and especially members of the church of Rome, permitted, by the exercise of official patronage, to change, in a great degree, the external character of the established church of this country. But that to which I wish to call the attention of the law advisers of the crown, is this, that I consider I am justified in maintaining, that at this moment England is a protestant state; and thank God for it, for it is the great ornament and bulwark of this country that she can be so described; and God forbid that any of those who call themselves protestants should ever be ashamed of that which is their distinction, their blessing, and their honour. But while I claim for England its character of protestantism, I also maintain the pre-eminence of the crown; not only because it is the first of the three estates of the realm, but because the sovereign is essentially, and necessarily, a protestant; and more than that, a member of the Reformed Protestant Church of England. I consider that this is established by statute law, which I believe the bill on the table of the house is calculated materially to shake and endanger; and I wish the law officers of the crown to have an opportunity of following me, if they please, and of stating whether or not I am correct in my position, that the bill, as it stands, does virtually greatly damage and endanger that security the country now enjoys, for the maintenance of its protestant character, by the fact that the sovereign is necessarily

a member of our church. The point to which I wish to call the attention of the house, and the Attorney-General, is not, I venture to think, one absolutely unimportant, while it is one that we have not yet discussed. By the bill of the hon. and learned member for Kinsale, as it stands at present, and as it would stand after the alterations of which he has given notice, he proposes to repeal the whole of the 30th Charles II., and the whole of the act of the 25th Charles II. By the act of the 30th Charles II., every person admitted into either house of parliament is to make a certain declaration. We all know, however, that by the act of 1829, the obligation to make such declaration had ceased, and members are admitted into either house of parliament without such an obligation being binding on them. But this is not the case with the sovereign; and by the Bill of Rights, which not even the hardihood of any modern legislature has ventured to touch, the sovereign, on first meeting his or her parliament, after his or her accession to the throne, is bound audibly to recite a certain declaration, while sitting on the throne in the upper house of parliament; and we all know that our present gracious sovereign made that declaration. Now, will the Attorney-General be pleased to state how far that famous Bill of Rights could be considered to be in full force, if this bill were adopted, when I tell him that the bill repeals the act to which that declaration refers? I ask whether there will remain anything for the Bill of Rights to work on, so far as the declaration is concerned, after the passing of this measure? And let the house recollect, that the declaration is the national testimony against the Church of Rome—a testimony borne by what republicans would call the first magistrate of the country; but which I regard as a declaration made by our sovereign lord the King, or our sovereign lady the Queen, as an essential condition of the occupancy of the throne, by the house of Brunswick. If the throne be not occupied by them as protestants, prepared to maintain the doctrines of protestants—prepared to maintain, not merely the

doctrines of protestants, but that particular form of protestantism implied in the Church of England, I, for one, know not what is their right to the throne. We are all aware that they were a younger branch of the royal family, selected because they were protestants, and entitled to the crown, by the Bill of Rights, on condition of their making that declaration. It is our national protest against the Roman Catholic Church, and, as such, I contend that it was intended to be, and ought to be, inviolable. But I contend, further, that it would be essentially endangered by the provisions of the bill of the hon. and learned member for Kinsale; because he professes and desires to repeal bodily the whole of that statute which contains the declaration, leaving, indeed—for he could not venture to touch that—leaving the Bill of Rights; but leaving it in such a way that it would provide, as I apprehend, for no declaration binding on the sovereign. At all events, until the law advisers of the crown shall state that I am mistaken as to what appears to me to be the plain, simple, and obvious construction of the Bill of Rights, I must consider that this point is well deserving of the consideration of her Majesty's Attorney-General, and of the house. The terms in which this declaration is to be made are well worthy of our notice. It is expressly enacted, in the Bill of Rights, that the sovereign shall audibly repeat, on his or her accession to the throne, the declaration mentioned in the 30th Charles II. Now if you repeal that statute of the 30th Charles II., I ask whether you do not endanger that security which the nation now possesses,—that so long as the house of Brunswick shall reign in this country, that house shall continue unchangeably protestants? The words of the statute I need not here repeat. The declaration, according to the statute, has been subscribed by, perhaps, three hundred members of this house; and without reviving the discussion as to the propriety of repealing that declaration, so far as members of either house of parliament are considered; this at least I must say, that that which the deliberate wisdom of parliament, in the year 1829, continued to re-

quire from the sovereign, should not be endangered by any proceeding under the bill of the hon. and learned gentleman, the member for Kinsale. I do speak confidently in respect to the point to which I have already called the attention of her Majesty's Attorney-General, and of the house; and I repeat, that that point is one which requires our special attention. I have stated that I consider the present bill as one of a series of aggressive measures upon the protestant establishment. If I shall feel myself obliged to use language towards the Church of Rome, which may give pain to any individual member, I can truly say, that I regret the necessity that compels me to do so; for in the course of my life, now no longer young, it has been my happiness to know in the House of Commons, and out of it, many members of that church, to whom, irrespective of any other considerations, on private grounds alone, I should deeply regret to give pain. But I cannot, in the discharge of a public duty, which I regard as imperative upon me, refrain from making, even in their presence, statements which I believe to be not only true, but necessary. I regard the Church of Rome to have been, for three centuries, the inexorable and unchangeable enemy of protestantism in Europe, and especially in this country the unchangeable foe of the Church of England. I say unchangeable, because I challenge any individual, who is either himself a member of that church, or who, like the hon. member for Kinsale, in this house, ably represents its interests, to contest this point with me—that as far as its hostility to protestantism is concerned, the Church of Rome has not changed one jot, or one tittle, for the last three centuries: and although I believe that there have been moments in the history of Europe, in which the pretensions of the Church of Rome have been allowed conveniently to sleep, there has never been a day in which those pretensions have been either publicly denied by that church, or in any degree qualified. I say there have been times when its pretensions have been allowed conveniently to sleep; and I ask those

who—good, easy men—in 1829, held that the danger to be apprehended from the Church of Rome existed only in the fanatical imagination of some wild protestants, whether there have not been witnessed, during the last fifty years, scenes in which the pretensions of the Church of Rome have been proved to be as vigorous as ever, and as practical as ever? I ask the honourable and learned member, whether, in 1783, it would have been conceived possible that any pope would have dreamt of absolving the subjects of France from their allegiance to the reigning monarch, and transferring that allegiance to another. Could more have been done in the sixteenth century? In the sixteenth century it was done, and Pope Pius the Fifth, who absolved the subjects of the English sovereign from their allegiance, has been canonised by the Church of Rome: and though Roman Catholic sovereigns have frequently caused those parts of the service relating to St. Pius to be withdrawn from the breviaries in their dominions, the saint's name has again re-appeared at a convenient season. I have referred to evidence on the subject, partly in my own possession and partly elsewhere, extending from 1783 to 1810, and find that the services, both of Pius the Fifth and Gregory the Seventh, appear at this day, in the reviving strength and energy of the Church of Rome, in the breviaries; and until some evidence shall be given, far more important than the declaration of honourable members of this house, that the Church of Rome is curbed, and is no longer a lion, but a lamb—till that shall take place, I shall believe the evidence of my own eyes, and think that they have not renounced the claims thundered formerly from the Vatican, by Pius the Fifth and Gregory the Seventh, but that they have at this moment the same arms in their arsenal, ready to be exerted on any occasion convenient to Rome. In 1801, the year after he had absolved the French subjects from their allegiance to their sovereign, the pope dismissed from their sees no less than one hundred bishops, who would not join with him in recognising

that sovereign. The very pope, who has been considered by every Englishman as a model, and whose courtesy to the English at Rome has made him the subject of their just gratitude, has never made any alteration in the rules adopted by his predecessors regarding the liberty and independence of any other church. I cannot consider it unworthy of notice, that this most liberal pope has not yet withdrawn his prohibition, which prevents Englishmen from having any place of worship within his eternal city. At this moment can it be denied by any members of the Church of Rome, or any of its advocates, that the order of jesuits—which order it was the especial object of the legislature, in 1829, to check, and finally suppress, in this country—is now at this moment creating as much civil disturbance in other parts of Europe as two centuries ago. Can we forget their conduct in France, in Switzerland, and in Germany (a cheer from Lord J. Manners)? I hear an ominous cheer from the noble lord with whom it is my misfortune to differ on this occasion; but does it mean to deny that the jesuits, as such—I will take no less than this—that the jesuits, as such, have been denounced as the disturbers of the public peace in France, in Switzerland, and in Belgium? In Belgium, does any one forget what the jesuits have done and are doing with respect to the University at Louvain? Does any one forget how the jesuits have gained that kingdom almost to themselves, against, be it remembered, the episcopacy of the Church of Rome? And yet it is this order of men which the bill of the honourable and learned member proposes to legalise, when it was the express object of the legislature, in 1829, to suppress that order. There is another point which renders this subject at all times interesting to my church, particularly so at the present moment, and makes this the most unfitting time to grant further concessions. At this moment, in Germany and France, and even in England, the Church of Rome is interposing new obstacles to the peace of civil society, by its conduct with respect to mixed marriages; and, however conscientious

the objections involved in their doctrine on the subject may be, this at least is clear, that the sympathy of the liberals is a thing which, *a priori*, could not have been anticipated. I may observe, that the very pope who made the concordat with Bonaparte, as if the Church of Rome, in his person at least, should never lose its right in this respect, proceeded, in 1809, to excommunicate the very prince with whom he made the concordat, then ruler of France. I need not further state the grounds of the objections which I entertain to the present bill. For my part, I will not deny myself the gratification of repeating, that to protestantism, as such—not being negative, because it is not, but the testimony of faithful men to the great truths they find in the Bible—I am so much attached, that I prefer that particular form of protestantism which is at once the shrine, the bulwark, and the glory of England. I will deliberately say, that I prefer any sect of men holding the doctrines of the Bible, and carrying the Bible in their hands—that is, the authorised version, and not any improved version used by those who deny the divinity of our blessed Lord—to those who withhold the scriptures altogether. But it is not necessary for my present purpose that I should take my stand on that ground. I regard this, as I have already said, as one of the many measures, which, in the course of the last fifty years, have been advanced for the purpose of extinguishing, if possible, or at all events to degrade, the established religion of this country, and protestantism in general. Regarding this bill as one of these measures, I feel it my duty distinctly and permanently to oppose it. I will not consent to any further concession. I look at foreign countries, and I see that there is no foreign country, governed by a Roman catholic sovereign, with the exception of Belgium, which will admit the order of jesuits under such circumstances as the honourable and learned member proposes to admit them. I look at Rome and its influence on civil society wherever it exists, and I see that nothing has hitherto satisfied that church, and I believe that nothing will

satisfy it, which is consistent with the maintenance of the Church of England in its present position, and I am compelled to add, with the existence of protestantism. Under these circumstances, I call on the noble lord, the leader of this house, not to forget the dying words of his immortal ancestor, words which, uttered at such a time, and by such a man, may be regarded almost as prophetic, "To resist the progress of popery." That resistance was one of the great objects of his life; and, while I admit that many wise and good men have felt it not inconsistent with their duty, or even with their professed regard for the interests of the Church of England and protestantism, to remove certain of the disabilities which have hitherto pressed on the Roman catholics, I call on my noble friend, the Prime Minister of England, to act in the spirit of his illustrious ancestor, and resist any further measures which have for their object and tendency, that which I believe to be equally included in this bill, namely, the degradation of the Church of England, the humiliation of protestantism, and the final ascendancy of the church of Rome. Under these circumstances, I feel I should not be doing my duty if I did not move that this bill be committed this day six months."

On taking up the "Standard," dated Thursday, April 15, 1847, in which the above speech seems to have been fully inserted, I intended to have taken a few extracts only; however, I soon found it was much easier to begin than to make an end. Every sentence, every clause, appeared so important, that I could not persuade myself to omit almost any, and as I have done this without taking time to ask permission, I trust I may be pardoned for the liberty I have taken, from the consideration of the benefit it is likely to produce, and how much it will enhance the value of my work.

That this warning voice may be heard throughout the length and breadth of England and Ireland, is the earnest petition of

SELINA MARTIN.

Clapham Common,
May 25, 1847.

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1871

1. The first of the year was a very dry one, and the crops were much injured by the drought. The wheat was particularly affected, and the yield was very small. The corn was also much injured, and the yield was very small. The other crops were also much injured, and the yield was very small.

2. The second of the year was a very wet one, and the crops were much injured by the rain. The wheat was particularly affected, and the yield was very small. The corn was also much injured, and the yield was very small. The other crops were also much injured, and the yield was very small.

3. The third of the year was a very dry one, and the crops were much injured by the drought. The wheat was particularly affected, and the yield was very small. The corn was also much injured, and the yield was very small. The other crops were also much injured, and the yield was very small.

4. The fourth of the year was a very wet one, and the crops were much injured by the rain. The wheat was particularly affected, and the yield was very small. The corn was also much injured, and the yield was very small. The other crops were also much injured, and the yield was very small.

5. The fifth of the year was a very dry one, and the crops were much injured by the drought. The wheat was particularly affected, and the yield was very small. The corn was also much injured, and the yield was very small. The other crops were also much injured, and the yield was very small.

6. The sixth of the year was a very wet one, and the crops were much injured by the rain. The wheat was particularly affected, and the yield was very small. The corn was also much injured, and the yield was very small. The other crops were also much injured, and the yield was very small.

7. The seventh of the year was a very dry one, and the crops were much injured by the drought. The wheat was particularly affected, and the yield was very small. The corn was also much injured, and the yield was very small. The other crops were also much injured, and the yield was very small.

8. The eighth of the year was a very wet one, and the crops were much injured by the rain. The wheat was particularly affected, and the yield was very small. The corn was also much injured, and the yield was very small. The other crops were also much injured, and the yield was very small.

9. The ninth of the year was a very dry one, and the crops were much injured by the drought. The wheat was particularly affected, and the yield was very small. The corn was also much injured, and the yield was very small. The other crops were also much injured, and the yield was very small.

10. The tenth of the year was a very wet one, and the crops were much injured by the rain. The wheat was particularly affected, and the yield was very small. The corn was also much injured, and the yield was very small. The other crops were also much injured, and the yield was very small.

INTRODUCTION.

THE early history of Ireland, like that of other countries, is involved in obscurity and uncertainty. There are, however, many interesting remains in the Emerald Isle which prove its inhabitants to have been of a superior order, although their names and works are not found in any record. Many deep investigations, many inquiries, many researches, have been diligently pursued by learned antiquarians; and numberless have been the conjectures respecting the Round Towers of Ireland, all ending in the same way. A mystery attends them, which, in all probability, will never be unfolded. The earliest notice of them is in the "Ulster Annals," now in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. "Anno 448. Ingenti terræmotu, per loca varia imminente, plurimæ urbes augustæ muri recenti adhuc reedificatione constructi, cum lvii. turribus corruerunt."

This passage, as far as the barbarous nature of the language will admit of a translation, has been thus rendered.

"In the year 448, many fine cities, but recently rebuilt, *together with fifty-seven towers*, were totally prostrated by the shock of a great earthquake; the alarming effects of which were felt in numerous places."

Referring to the manner and style in which these re-

markable “Ulster Annals”* are written, O’Conor observes,† “The work is written in Irish characters, very clearly, but, as is usual in Irish works, abounding with so many abbreviations, both of words and syllables, that it cannot be read without harassing labour.”

Stone-roofed structures are frequently found in the vicinity of the Round Towers, which have equally engaged the attention of antiquarians; but the period of their erection remains still unknown.

From the ruins of seven churches, in various places, and the Round Towers, the Eastern origin of the Irish may be traced. The ruins of seven churches are found at Glendalough, Clonmacnoise, Iniscattery,‡ Inchferrin, &c., &c., &c. The seven altars of Clonfert and Holy Cross may be numbered amongst them. Many such remains are discovered spread over the country, and they are generally found on the islands.

Whether the Round Towers are of Pagan or Christian origin, has never yet been sufficiently ascertained. They are remarkable monuments of the skill and ingenuity of an intelligent people, whose history we need not notice, before the sun of righteousness arose and shed a glory over this little western island; while the greater part of the earth’s inhabitants remained in the midnight darkness of heathenism.

That there was such a bright and glorious day,—that

* The annals of the four masters were compiled by Michael O’Clery in conjunction with three other antiquaries. Harris says, they were “chiefly drawn from the annals of Clonmacnoise, Inisfail, and Senat, as well as from other approved and ancient chronicles in Ireland.”

† Vol. i.

‡ The Irish word Inis, means island.

the Irish were an enlightened people, admits of no dispute, while so many concurring testimonies assert its reality. The Scriptures were received and read by them. The pure doctrines of the gospel were as seed sown in good ground, which took root, and spread, and grew, and brought forth fruit in its season.

Romanism was unknown. There was no false teacher to pervert the truth, or to prohibit the perusal of that Word which brings life and immortality to light. Grown persons and children, clergy and laity, were equally at liberty to study that divine revelation, as they sat in the house, or walked by the way. In those early days, the Irish proved their veneration and love for the Scriptures, by the pains which they took to preserve them. Sir William Betham has seen, and accurately described, some of the boxes in which portions of them were carefully deposited; they were handed down unexplored, from generation to generation, as family relics, too sacred to be investigated.

Sir W. Betham says of one of these precious relics, called the Meeshac, that it seemed to have long lain in some damp underground place. Its rich tracery, and chased silver plating were imperceptible, until a thick coating, which covered them, was carefully cleared off. He then discovered a date, *Anno Domini, ccccciii.*, which surprised him, as he had been taught to believe that dating by the Christian era had not been used at this early period in Ireland.

Vallancy gives the following account of this antique relic, "Mr. O'Donell, of the barony of Innishowen, informs me, there was in the hands of the Rev. Mr.

Barnard, of Fahan, a precious box, set with stones, called in Irish, Meeshac (a word supposed to be Hebrew, and to signify a vow). This is ornamented with a crucifix and the twelve apostles, &c."

I have heard that the box was found among the late Duke of Sussex's collection, at the sale, and purchased by Lord Allan, who presented it to the college of St. Columba, at Stackallan.

The learned author of "Antiquarian Researches," brings forward another interesting testimony to the civilization and piety of the Irish, in "The Book of Armagh," which he says, "contains evidence of learning, beyond even the most sanguine hopes and expectations of the most patriotic Irishman; it exhibits an acquaintance with the Greek as well as the Latin tongue; and more, in it will be found evidences to confound the most sceptical, that Ireland, in the seventh century, was a cultivated and civilized country, and had been so for centuries; that Christianity had long before enlightened her people; and that, not in isolated and individual cases, where its professors shrunk from its avowal,—not here and there, in a monastery on the coast, or in fortified places surrounded by Paganism and persecution, like an *oasis* in the desert:—No; Ireland was then, and long had been, a *Christian nation*, governed by wholesome laws, which protected the lives and properties of its inhabitants, and shielded the stranger."

In another place, the same author says, "Blush, England, who would stigmatise Ireland as the asylum of superstition, bigotry, and barbarism, to which *you* first gave birth in the land of saints, wisdom, liberty, and learning."

“If England did not give birth to superstition and its curses in Ireland, she certainly was the willing instrument to secure their sway. The Roman See never completed its conquest over the Irish church, till it received the aid of the English sword,—although, by its secret and open agents, it had for centuries been sapping its purity.”

The venerable Bede speaks of Ireland “as a rich and happy country, undisturbed by those bloody wars which harassed the rest of the barbarous ages; as a land to which the nobility and gentry of Britain resorted for their education; as a nation which gratuitously afforded maintenance, books, and masters, to all strangers who came thither for the sake of learning.”

“The Saxons flocked to Ireland, as to a great mart, for learning; hence we find this expression so often among writers,—such a person was sent over to Ireland to be educated.”

Mosheim, in his “Ecclesiastical History of the Eighth Century,” thus expresses himself:—“That the Irish were lovers of learning, that they distinguished themselves in these times of ignorance, by the culture of the sciences, beyond all the European nations—travelling through the most distant lands with a view to improve and to communicate their knowledge—is a fact which is derived from the most ancient records of antiquity.”

It has been the opinion of many, that the Irish Church received its rules, and Christianity itself, from missionaries taught by St. Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, the pupil of Polycarp, of Smyrna, who obtained them from St. Ignatius, the immediate disciple of St. John.

St. Patrick and St. Columba, though not the first

missionaries to Ireland, are most worthy of our attention, as the chief agents in the work to which they were appointed. Palladius preceded St. Patrick, being sent by Celestin, Bishop of Rome, to the Irish churches in 431. But even before his time, according to Usher, St. Kieran, St. Ailbe, St. Declan, and St. Ibar, had introduced and planted the religion of Christ, in Ireland. Palladius soon left the country, from finding that he could do little amongst a people whose language he did not understand.

Ware and Usher say that St. Patrick arrived in the year 373. It is remarkable that the venerable Bede, whose history was written sixty-seven years subsequently to this period, makes no mention of the apostolic labours of St. Patrick: yet his own writings, especially his "Letter to Coroticus," and his "Confession," are received as "authentic works from his hand." "The great purity of the Christian doctrine that pervades them,—the holy breath of prayer that forms the atmosphere of the 'Confession,'—and the frequent reference to the sole authority of the Scripture that is to be found in them,—convince us that they are genuine." *

Archbishop Usher's candid sentiments concerning St. Patrick are thus expressed:—"This I will say, that as it is the most likely that St. Patrick had a special regard unto the Church of Rome; from whence he was sent for the conversion of the island; so, if I myself had lived in his daies, for the resolution of a doubtful question, I should as willingly have listened to the

* See *Opuscula*, p. 92.

judgment of the Church of Rome, as to the determination of any church in the whole world, so reverend an estimation have I of that church, as it stood in those good daies. But that St. Patrick was of opinion that the church of Rome was sure ever afterwards to continue in that good estate, and that there was a perpetual privilege annexed unto that see, that it should never err in judgment, or that the pope's sentences were always to be held infallible oracles, that I will never believe. *Sure I am that my countrymen after him were of farre other believe*, who were so farre from submitting themselves in this sort to whatsoever should proceed from the See of Rome, that *they oftentimes stood out against it, when they had little cause so to doe.*"

The authentic works of St. Patrick, strikingly exhibit him as a man of prayer: in his confessions we find that, before the dawn, in the snow, in frost, in rain, he ceased not, because his spirit burned within him to pour out his supplications. Yet, throughout all these works, so replete with accounts of prayers and intercessions, not one passage is found in any part, in which the slightest mention is made of the invocation of the Virgin Mary; or of any created saint or being whatsoever. On one occasion he says, "The Lord our advocate prays for us."

That neither St. Patrick, nor the early Irish Christians had imbibed the unscriptural doctrine of purgatory is evident from all that we can collect of their opinions.—St. Patrick says, in a work entitled "*De tribus Habitantis*"—(The three Habitations). "There be three habitations under the power of Almighty God:

the first, the lowermost, and the middle; the highest whereof is the kingdom of God, or the kingdom of the heavens; the lowermost is hell; the middle is named the present world." Again:—"In this world there is a mixture of good and bad; but in the kingdom of God none are bad, but all good; in hell none are good, but all bad: and either place is supplied from the middle." Of the state of the soul he says, "Neither can the archangel lead it to life, until the lord have judged it; nor the devil transport it to hell, until the Lord have condemned it." In his epistle to Coroticus, and in his "Confession" he thus humbly expresses himself:—"I was a stone which lies in the deep mire; and he who is mighty took me out in his great mercy; and he indeed raised me up, and placed me on the top of the wall." Again he says, "But what shall I say or what shall I promise unto my Lord? because I see nothing that he has not bestowed on me."—"I am greatly a debtor to God, who has vouchsafed to me so much grace, that so many people should be born again unto God through me."—"He who believeth shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned."—"These are not my words, but those of God and his apostles, and the prophets that have never lied."—"Behold, I now commend my soul to my faithful God, whose ambassador I am, in my great unworthiness."

Columba, who is said to have been the first missionary who preached Christ crucified upon the banks of Lough Foyle, and many other places in Ulster, was born in 521. He was of the blood royal. According to the Irish writers he was a member of the O'Donnell family,

descended from Nial of the Nine Hostages, monarch of Ireland, who granted to his son Conall the district now called Donegal, but then Tyr-Conall (*i.e.* the land of Conall). Columba's original name was Crimthan; changed to Columba, with the surname of Cille, or Kille, which signifies "The Churches," of which he founded a vast number. From the gentleness and simplicity of his character, he was called the Dove of the Churches.

In the third book, and fourth chapter, of the venerable Bede's "Ecclesiastical History", we find the following notice of Columba—

"A.D. 563. Columba, a distinguished priest and abbot, both by his habit and holy life, came from Ireland to preach the word of God to the Picts, who dwelt in the north parts of Britain; that is, to those who were separated, by those tremendous mountains, from the Picts who dwelt in the more southern parts, who had long before abandoned idolatry, and embraced the true faith, which was preached to them by the blessed and holy Bishop Ninia, a Briton; who had been duly and regularly instructed in the true faith, at Rome, &c. 'Columba came to Britain in the ninth year of the potent Bredus, the son of Meilochon, King of the Picts, and, by his learning and example, converted that nation to the faith, for which service the aforesaid island, Hy (now called Iona), was given him to found a monastery. The isle is not large, but about sufficient for the support of five families, according to the English estimation. His successors keep it to this day; and he was buried there, aged seventy-seven years; thirty-two years after he came to preach in Britain.

“Before he went to Britain, he founded a noble monastery in Ireland, which, from the great quantity of oaks in the neighbourhood, is called in the Scottish language, Dearmach,* that is to say, the field of oaks. From both these monasteries many religious houses, both in Britain and Ireland, were founded by his disciples; of all which the monastery in the island is the chief house.

“This island was always governed by an abbot, who is a priest, to whom the whole country, and the bishops themselves, were, after a strange and uncommon custom, subject, according to the example of the first doctor, who was not a bishop, but a priest and a monk. Many things are written of his life and actions by his disciples; but we know certainly, that he left successors of great continence, distinguished charity, and holy life. In observing the feast of Easter, they trusted to uncertain guides; and it is not surprising, considering that no man sent unto them the decrees for the keeping thereof.”

“From this island, therefore, and from this monastery was Aidan sent to instruct the English in the faith of Christ: at the time that Sigenius was abbot, he accepted the office of bishop,” &c.—“Finances, a holy man from Hy, succeeded Aidan, and was bishop of Northumberland a long time. He built a church in Lindisfarne (Holy Island), for the bishop’s see;

* The first Christian missionaries, succeeding the Druids, consecrated the circuit of the grove anew to religion, and called it Doire, the meaning of which in Irish is the Oak. Thus Columba, in the sixth century, founded two celebrated monasteries, one in the oaken grove in the town of Doire, afterwards corrupted to Derry; the other at Doiremagh, the field of oaks, in the King’s County.

not of stone, but of oak wood, and with thatch, as the Scotch custom was.”*

“A.D. 635. Oswald, shortly after he came to the crown (of Northumberland), being desirous that his people should be instructed in the truths of the Christian faith, whereof he had great evidence of the truth, by vanquishing his barbarian enemies; he sent to the chief of the Scots,—among whom, in his exile, he had received the sacrament of baptism, as did the soldiers who were with him;—requesting them to send a prelate, by whose preaching and ministry the English, whom he ruled, might be instructed in the gifts, and receive the sacraments of the faith of our Lord. Nor were these things, which he desired, denied or withheld from him. Bishop Aidan, of great meekness, godliness, modesty, and piety, having a great zeal for God, arrived, and the king appointed him to be a bishop of Holy Island (Lindisfarne), as he desired. This place, by the flowing of the tide, is twice a day made an island, and as often, by the receding of the water, made part of the main land. By the advice of this good bishop, the king being ever ready to follow it, the church of Christ was much enlarged in his dominions. And whereas, the bishop was unskilful in the English tongue, and the king understanding the Scottish, by reason of his long exile in Ireland, when the bishop preached the faith of Christ, the king interpreted the heavenly word to his generals and subjects, which was a gratifying and a pleasing sight. For a long time, many

* Book 3, Chaps. v. xvi—xxv.

persons came from Ireland into the English provinces of Britain, under the government of King Oswald, with great devotion, to preach the gospel of Christ, and baptizing all who believed. Churches were built in convenient places, and the people gladly assembled together to hear the word of God. Of his great bounty the king granted lands and possessions for the foundation of religious houses; and old persons, as well as young children, were trained up by the Scots in the observance of regular discipline: for they were, for the most part, monks who came to preach; Aidan was a monk of the island called Hii; which house was, for a long time, the chief of all the religious houses of the northern Scots and Picts, which were subject to it. The island, indeed, belongs to Britain, being separated from it only by a very narrow arm of the sea; but by free gift of the Picts, who inhabit that part of Britain, it was granted lately to the Scottish monks in reward for their virtuous preaching the faith of Christ.”*

In the seventh century of the Christian era, a general spoliation devastated the western and southern parts of the Roman empire, which were overrun by the Goths, Vandals, Huns, Franks, and other barbarians, partly German, partly Scythian. All kinds of learning, wherever they appeared, were destroyed by them. No attempt had then been made on Ireland, it being well known that this country had never been brought under the Roman yoke,—hence it became a place of refuge for those who loved learning and retirement from the

* Book 3rd, Chap. iii.

noise and din of arms,—and Ireland stood alone the seminary of literature, when all the western world had become illiterate, barbarous, and rude.

We have the authority of both Camden and Spenser in asserting, that the ancient Saxons, or English, first learned the art of forming letters, in writing, in Ireland.

The bright period of our country's peace, prosperity, piety, and learning, was from the year of our Lord 432, until the year 820, when the flood of the ungodly broke in upon them. Like a terrific tempest, the heathen Danes and Norwegians invaded our happy land—determined on the destruction of the Christian religion; its institutions were levelled, and their inmates mercilessly butchered.

The peaceful island of Iona, and the other little islands of the seas, were devastated by these cruel despoilers. Warfare, continued warfare, harassed the country, and put a stop to the progress of all that was useful. The far-famed Bangor was laid in ruins, and the names of her pious and learned inmates, with all their records and writings, were heard of no more. No more now the island of saints—the mart of literature—the land of hospitality: a baneful blight passed over the emerald isle,—the praises of God resounded no more,—the seminaries of Armagh, of Cashel, of Lismore, and many others, lay in dust and ashes,—the destruction of churches, seminaries, and useful institutions, was followed by a recklessness of the good order, and discipline, which had hitherto been maintained in Ireland.

The monastery at Bangor, was founded by Malachy,

Archbishop of Armagh, and Laurence, Archbishop of Dublin.

In A.D. 1140, Malachy introduced the Cistercian order of monks into Ireland, under the direction of St. Bernard, and formed establishments for them at Millesfont, Newry, Bective, Boyle, Baltinglass, Nenagh, and Cashel.

Camden gives the following account of the monastery at Bangor :—

“ A rich and mighty man gave a place called Banchor, unto Malachy, to build, or rather re-edify there, a monastery. It had been a most noble house beforetime, under the first father and founder, Congel, educating many thousand monks, and likewise the head of many monasteries; a holy place in truth, and a breeder of many saints, most plenteously bringing forth fruit unto God, and the scions thereof replenished Ireland and Scotland. From thence came St. Columba to these parts of ours here in France, who built the monastery of Luxovium, which grew to a mighty multitude. So great, by report, was the ancient glory of Banchor monastery, that the solemnity of divine service held out continually in one quire after another, so that there was not one moment of time, night nor day, without singing praises.

“ Malachy, both in regard of the noble name it bore, and of its ancient dignity, especially liked this place, although it was destroyed, as minding to replant it, like unto a garden or paradise. He regarded it, because many bodies of saints slept there; and, to say nothing of those who died peaceably, it is reported that nine

hundred were slain in one day by the Danes. Truly, the possessions of that place were great, but Malachy, contenting himself with the site only of this holy place, surrendered wholly to another the land and possessions: for, from the time that the monastery was destroyed, the place, with the lands and livings thereunto appertaining, were held by some one, who was also ordained by election, and called abbot, as in old time, though, in reality, not so. And when many advised not to alienate the possessions, but to retain the whole together, Malachy refused, for he sought not earthly possessions, and caused one to be chosen for them by election, according to the custom. Within a few days, there was the oratory, or church, finished, of timber pieces, made smooth, but fitly and firmly knit together (a Scottish kind of work, fair and beautiful enough). Afterwards Malachi thought good to have a church built of stone, proportioned like to those which he had seen built in other countries; and when he begun to lay the foundation, the native inhabitants made a wonder thereat, because there was not found in that land, as yet, such manner of buildings,—and thereupon one cried out, ‘O good sir, what, mean you to bring in this new fashion unto our countries? Scots we are, and not French;—what vanity is this?—what need was there of such work,—so superfluous, so proud, and so glorious?’

“Malachy, in the thirtieth year of his age, was brought in, and presented a consecrated Bishop of Connor.”

Among the ancient kings and warriors of Ireland, Brian Boiroimhe is one of the most remarkable.

After having groaned under an intolerable burden for nearly three centuries, Brian Boiroimhe, usurping supreme authority, became the deliverer of his country. In the "Irish Antiquarian Researches," we find the following notice of this redoubtable warrior, extracted from the "Book of Armagh."

"St. Patrick, when ascending to heaven, commanded all the fruits of his labour, arising both from baptism and alms, to be brought to the apostolic city, which, in the Scottish language, is called Ardmacha: I found it thus stated in the book of the Scots. I, that is to say, Calvus Perennis, wrote this in the sight of Brian, Emperor of the Scots; and what I wrote he confirmed for all kings, with his seal of wax." In a note, Sir William Betham says, "This passage is written in a more modern hand than the rest of the MS. The Brian, *Emperor of the Scots*, there mentioned, was *Brian Boiroimhe*, who, according to the annals of the four masters, was a week at Armagh, in A.D. 1004, and made an offering of twenty ounces of gold, on the altar there."

He again refers to this passage also in a note:—"From the writing of the 'Visitation of the Sick,' in 'Dimma's Book,' and the entry written in the presence of Brian Boiroimhe, in the year 1006, in the 'Book of Armagh,' being precisely the same character, and differing in *toto* from that of the remainder of the MS., commencing on a spare blank part of the vellum, at the end of the gospel of St. Luke, and continued on an inserted membrane, I consider it to have been written long after the book itself, viz., at the end of the tenth,

or beginning of the eleventh century.” The “Book of Armagh” was written in the seventh century. Sir W. Betham says, “the ‘Psalter of *Columbkil*,’ written in the seventh century, is probably the oldest Irish MS. extant. The ‘Four Gospels of *Dimma*,’ written early in the seventh century, is, perhaps, the oldest in the pure Irish character.”

After many signal victories over the Danes, Brian Boiroimhe, in his eighty-eighth year, led on his army to a spacious field, where the the great battle of Chon Tarbhe, now Clontarf, was fought, within two miles of Dublin. The previous night was spent in preparation, and, at the dawn of morning, the armies were drawn out in battle array. It was a day on which the king felt strongly reluctant to imbrue his hands in blood. It was Good Friday, April 23, 1014.

We have no circumstantial details of this famous battle. The aged monarch, for some time, directed its movements in person, but at length, yielding to the solicitations of his son and his chieftains, he retired to his tent, where, it is said, he passed the time kneeling in prayer, in which defenceless attitude he received a mortal wound. The battle was decisive; Brian’s army was victorious: the Danes and their allies were routed on all sides, and numbers were slain. In passing the king’s tent, in their flight towards a wood, Bruadair, the Danish admiral, rushing in, plunged his dagger into the heart of the veteran; then holding up the reeking weapon, he cried out, “Let it be proclaimed, from man to man, that Brian has fallen by the hand of Bruadair.”

The Danes were not yet expelled from Ireland, but

they never, after the battle of Clontarf, regained their ascendancy.

About the year 1155, under the specious pretext of converting the nation to popery, Henry II. obtained from Pope Adrian that which no pontiff had any lawful right to grant—his full permission to invade and subjugate Ireland, together with all the other Christian islands; over which he was to assume the right of jurisdiction, upon condition of his levying St. Peter's pence annually from every dwelling-place throughout this country; which stipulation was made by the pope's bull. In token of the pope's right of investiture, a golden ring, richly set with an emerald, was sent by John of Salisbury, the king's envoy, which ring, with the accompanying document, were deposited in the public archives by order of Adrian.

Henry did not at this time attempt the conquest of Ireland, other cares more particularly engrossing his attention; nor does it appear that the Irish had the slightest suspicion of his design. The English had never yet attempted it, although both William the Conqueror, and Henry I. had a desire to add Ireland to their dominions. Hanmer, in his "Chronicle," relates the following anecdote of William Rufus:—

"Cambrensis, in his 'Itinerarie of Cambria,' reporteth how that King William, standing upon some high rock in the farther part of Wales, beheld Ireland, and said, 'I will have the shippes of my kingdome brought hither, wherewith I will make a bridge to invade this land.' Murchardt, King of Leynster, heard thereof, and after he had paused awhile, asked of the

reporter, 'Hath the king in his great threatening, inserted these words, *if it please God?*' 'No.' 'Then,' said he, 'seeing this king putteth his trust only in man, and not in God, I fear not his coming.' "

Far different was the conduct of his degenerate son, Dermot Mac Murchard, King of Leinster, the betrayer of his country. He had been justly deprived of his principality, after which, he fled to England, and offered homage as a vassal to Henry II., on condition of his sending forces to Ireland to reinstate him. The king received him favourably, and granted letters patent, which permitted him to make application for aid in any part of the king's dominions. After many fruitless endeavours, Dermot at length found some needy adventurers who undertook this expedition, with the chief of whom, Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, surnamed Strongbow, Dermot entered into an engagement, if he was successful, to give him his daughter Eva in marriage, and to make over to him the principality of Leinster as an inheritance.

At this time, Ireland was unhappily so rent and divided by internal factions, so disorganised, so badly governed by a pusillanimous and merely nominal monarch, continually held in check by the provincial princes, that an opportunity more favourable for the English invasion, could scarcely have offered.

Dermot, to gain time, had affected to throw himself on the clemency of his adversaries, whom he conciliated with peace-offerings and professions.

Thus were these powers lulled to repose, at a time

when the most active exertions were requisite to ward off the impending blow. Unthought of, unguarded, and altogether unprepared, the Irish coast lay open to its new invaders, who landed, without let or hindrance, in the month of May, 1170; there was nothing formidable in their first appearance.

Robert Fitz-Stephen, with his own kindred and household, thirty knights, and sixty men in coats of mail, besides three hundred skilful archers from South Wales, constituted the entire of this military band. They landed within twelve miles of Wexford, at a creek called The Bann. Their numbers were increased on the following day by the arrival of Maurice de Pendergast, from Wales, with ten knights and ten archers. Dermot, who had been anxiously watching for their coming, hastened to join them with five hundred men. They marched towards Wexford, in military array, exhibiting such a display as filled the simple peasantry with amazement and consternation. Far different from the undisciplined forces they were accustomed to, were the well-ordered Norman troops they now beheld for the first time. Their glistening armour, their shields, cavalry, archers, &c., &c., moving forward in straight lines, seemed to paralyze, instead of rousing them to action; hence the invaders met with no opposition until they came before the town. Here they received a momentary check from assailants on the walls, who hurled large stones and beams of wood upon their heads to prevent their entrance. On the following day, the attack was vigorously renewed, and the town

was delivered up to Dermot; whose forces, soon afterwards, increasing to three thousand men, he marched into Ossory, and gained a great victory. At length Roderic,* the monarch of Ireland, made some show of resistance; but his large army was diminished by an unhappy dissension among the northern chieftains, which caused them to return home with their followers. On the first approach of Roderic, all the Irish who had joined themselves to the King of Leinster forsook him, and arranged themselves under the banner of the monarch, declaring that they would fight no more for the "friend of the stranger, who could not be their friend."

Had Roderic been firm and energetic at this time, he might have expelled the invaders; but, instead of any effectual efforts to oppose them, he meanly tampered, first with Fitz-Stephen, and then with Dermot, hoping to disunite them. But failing in this attempt, he entered into a disgraceful compact with the King of Leinster, by which he made over to him and his heirs for ever, not only the sovereignty of Leinster, but all the lands which, as a traitor to his country, he had forfeited; and this was granted without any concession on his

* The county of Sligo stretches along the sea coast: between it and the north runs the river Trobis, which derives its source from Lough Erne. It is separated from its neighbouring counties by the cumbersome Curlew hills. The bay of Sligo is full of harbours, and its castle was the seat of the O'Connor Dun, or Don, from the days of Roderic O'Connor, the last king.—*Camden*.

The steep Curlew mountains rear their peaks aloft, and were impassable until a way was industriously cut out by George Bingham: under these lofty hills, on the Shannon, a famous abbey was founded in 1152, called the Abbey of Beatitudes.—*Ibid*.

part, except a private declaration that he would not again encourage foreigners to land on the shores of Erin. The treaty was ratified by a family alliance; Roderic promised his daughter in marriage to Connor, the favourite son of Dermot, who remained as hostage with the monarch. So far from keeping to these engagements, Dermot only waited for the dispersion of the troops and the retreat of Roderic, to break through them all. Having heard that Maurice Fitz-Gerald had landed at Wexford, with ten knights, thirty horsemen, and one hundred archers, he hastened to join them. His aim now was to obtain, for himself, the supreme monarchy. With this end in view, aided by his foreign auxiliaries, he made an attack on Dublin, and was successful against all Roderic's feeble attempts to resist him.

May, 1171. A powerful reinforcement of English landed under a rock near Waterford. They were led on by Raymond Fitz-William, called Raymond le Gros; he was the second son of William Fitz-Gerald, Lord of Carew; and nephew to the two Norman chieftains, Maurice Fitz-Gerald and Robert Fitz-Stephen. Hervey, of Mount Maurice, joined them with a few knights; and while waiting the arrival of Strongbow, they erected a temporary fort.

The people of Waterford, hoping to dislodge them, assembled, and were joined by O'Phelan, Prince of the Deicies, and O'Ryan, Prince of Idrone; forming altogether a force of three thousand men, who were bravely met by Raymond. A severe conflict ensued, which ended in the defeat of the Irish: five hundred were slain,

and many more were seized and dragged up the rocks, from whence they were precipitated into the foaming surge below. Seventy of the principal men of Waterford were detained prisoners, for whose ransom the citizens would have paid largely, and were even willing to deliver up the city itself. But these unoffending men shared the fate of the others,—they, too, were carried to the top of the rocks, and plunged into the great deep. Raymond would have saved them, but the advice of Hervey prevailed, which was, at the very commencement, to “strike terror into the Irish.” It was a cruel commencement of a long train of injustice and severity, which instilled into the Irish that hatred for their Saxon conquerors which has never yet been eradicated.

Three months after this dreadful event, on the eve of the feast of St. Bartholomew, Strongbow, with his army, landed near Waterford, and were joined by Raymond, with his detachment. They made an assault upon the city; and met with an unexpected and resolute resistance. It was taken, however, and a general slaughter ensued. No distinction of sex or age was regarded—nor mercy shewn in the total devastation of Waterford. The rapacious besiegers rushed through the town, cutting down all who opposed their work of carnage and plunder. Amid the wreck and ruin of the city, the nuptials of Strongbow and Eva took place. Soon afterwards the united forces marched towards Dublin, of which they obtained possession. A valiant English knight, Miles de Cogan, was stationed as governor in the city, while Dermot and Strongbow

carried their arms into Meath. To follow them in their victories would be more than the limits of an introductory chapter will allow.

The people seeing themselves dispossessed, and their lands divided among strangers, were incited to enquire whether there might not be some particular cause wherefore this calamity had fallen upon them. For this purpose a formal synod was convened at Armagh; and after much deliberation, as the chronicles state, "the synod declared that this calamity was to be held as an infliction of Divine justice, on account of the sins of the Irish people; and more especially, because that in former times they used to make bond-slaves of the English, whom they had purchased, as well from merchants, as from robbers and pirates—a crime for which God now took vengeance upon them, by delivering them into like bondage themselves."

"Acting upon the spirit of these humane and Christian views, the synod unanimously decreed and ordered, that all the English, throughout the island, who were in a state of slavery, should be restored to their former freedom." Cambrensis, Bishop of St. David's, who gives this account, also states—"that the English, by a common vice of their country, had a custom to sell their children and kinsfolk into Ireland, although they were neither in want nor extreme poverty."

The English reader, after this, must never charge the Irish of that age with being rude and barbarous, lest he should be warned to look at home.*

* Dr. Warner's *History of Ireland*, vol 1. book 2.

“Slaves were exported from England in such numbers, that it seems to have been a fashion among the people of property in Ireland, and other neighbouring countries, to be attended by English slaves.” *

Bristol was the great mart of this traffic. That numbers of young English slaves, of both sexes, were shipped from this port to Ireland, tied together by ropes, is a fact narrated by William of Malmesbury.

According to the “Irish Annals,” Dermot, the last King of Leinster, died of some loathsome disease, at Ferns; remaining hardened and impenitent to the last, he was an object of general disgust and horror. Strongbow took possession of his principality in right of Eva his wife, though, by the old laws of Ireland, the right of inheritance was confined to the male issue. However, his triumphant career was checked. Henry II., being jealous of his subject’s successes in Ireland, interdicted all his supplies and resources from England: hence Strongbow, in order to conciliate him, wrote the following submissive letter.

“Most puissant prince, and my dread sovereign,

“I came into this land with your majesty’s leave and favour (as far as I remember), to aid your servant, Dermot Mac Morough. What I have won, was with the sword; what was given me, I give you; I am yours, life and living, at your command.”

Henry did not deign to return any answer to this letter; but being determined to finish the conquest of

* Seyer’s *History of Bristol*.

Ireland himself, he required the personal attendance of Strongbow in England. He obeyed the mandate, and made such concessions as restored him to the king's favour, and also to his English possessions, which had been seized as forfeited to the crown.* Hanmer says, "I find recorded, that when King Henry II. made preparation for the conquest of Ireland, Richard Strongbow, Earl of Strigul,† Marshal of England, being reconciled to the king, had all his lands in England and Normandy, restored unto him again: and, thereupon, the king made him Seneschal of Ireland."

King Henry embarked at Milford, attended by Strongbow, William Fitz-Aldelm, Humphry de Bohen, Hugh de Lacy, Robert Fitz-Bernard, and other nobles, with an army of four thousand men-at-arms and three hundred knights. According to "Hanmer's Chronicle,"—"Anno 1172,‡ upon St. Luke's day, October 18, Henry II. entered the haven of Waterford (so writeth Cambrensis, that lived then), and landed, to the hearty joy of the English, and feigned welcome of the Irishmen." By professing himself more the protector than the conqueror of Ireland, he gained the confidence of the Irish, and, as he advanced through the country, most of the provincial kings met him to do homage; and after each prince had given up his territory, Henry courteously restored it, and dismissed them with many royal gifts. Overtures were made to Roderic to induce him to submit also, but he resolutely rejected them:—

* *British Chronicles*, Crettan and Stratflur.

† Chepstow.

‡ The same date is given by Rapin, Hume, Camden, &c.

destitute as the Irish monarch found himself, and abandoned by his vassals, he determined, if possible, to defend his own province (Connaught), aided by all the princes of Ulster.

When Henry arrived in Dublin, there was no house found sufficiently capacious to entertain him and his suite—for which purpose a new one was constructed, after the Irish fashion, of smooth twigs or wattles.

Hanmer thus describes the king's festivity:—"Christmas drew on, which the king kept at Dublin, where he feasted all the provincial princes, and gave them rich and beautiful gifts. They repaired thither out of all parts of the land,—and wonderful it was to the simple people to behold the majesty of so puissant a prince:—the pastime, the sport, and the mirth, and the continual music,—the masking, mumming, and strange shows; the gold, the silver, and plate; the precious ornaments; the dainty dishes, furnished with all sorts of fish and flesh; the wines; the spices; the delicate and sumptuous banquets; the orderly service; the comely march, and seemly array of all the officers; the gentlemen, the esquires, the knights, and lords, in their rich attire; the running at tilt in complete harness, with barbed horses, where the staves shivered and flew in splinters;—the plain honest people admired, and no marvel."

"Henry II. having thus conquered Ireland without drawing a sword, or shedding one drop of blood (as it became his princely calling), turned himself to reform the state ecclesiastical."

The king returned to England early in the spring,

leaving the country in a very unsettled state, yet still too jealous to commit its affairs to Strongbow, whose attendance he required in England; meanwhile he appointed Hugh de Lacy as Seneschal, or Governor, of Dublin.

In order to make sure of Ireland for himself and his heirs, Henry dispatched ambassadors to Rome, to obtain the pope's sanction for retaining it as his own lawful possession; he received the following answer:—

“Alexander the bishop, the servant of the servants of God, to his dearly beloved son, the noble King of England, greeting, grace and apostolic benediction. Forasmuch as things given and granted upon good reason, by our predecessors, are to be allowed, ratified, and confirmed,—we, well-considering and pondering the grant and privilege for and concerning the dominion of the land of Ireland to us appertaining, and lately given by Adrian, our predecessor:—we, following his steps, do, in like manner, confirm, ratify, and allow the same,—reserving and saving to St. Peter, and to the church of Rome, the yearly pension of one penny out of every house, as well in England as in Ireland. Provided also, that the barbarous people of Ireland, by your means, be reformed and recovered from that filthy life and conversation: that, as in name, so in life and manners, they may be Christian; and that, as that rude and disordered church, being by you reformed, the whole nation also, with the profession of the name, be, in acts and deeds, followers of the same.” *

* Hanmer says that this document is found in the *Book of Howth*.

The adherents of Rome, acknowledging the pope's supremacy, cannot dispute the right of England over Ireland after such a grant as this. They only, who never submitted to the papal yoke, and still protest against its monopolizing and intolerant enactments, can, with propriety, object. And that such were the principles of the early church of Ireland, that she was sound in the faith, and held the pure, uncontaminated, doctrines of the gospel, independent of the See of Rome; steadily rejecting the pope's assumed, unscriptural, ecclesiastical, supremacy, are facts too strongly corroborated to admit of a doubt. Hume, who is esteemed an authentic and impartial historian, gives the following statement:—

“Adrian III., who then filled the papal chair, was, by birth, an Englishman; and being, on that account, disposed to oblige Henry, he was easily persuaded to act as master of the world; and to make, without any hazard or expense, the acquisition of a great island to his spiritual jurisdiction.

“The Irish had, by precedent missions from the Britons, been converted to Christianity: and what the pope regarded as the surest mark of their imperfect conversion, *they followed the doctrines of their first teachers, and had never acknowledged any subjection to the see of Rome.* Adrian therefore, in the year 1156, issued a bull in favour of Henry: in which, after promising that the prince had ever shown an anxious care to enlarge the church of God on earth, and to increase the number of his saints and elect in heaven, he represents his design of subduing as derived from the

same pious motives: he considers his care of applying previously for the apostolic sanction, as a sure earnest of success and victory; and having established it as a point incontestable, that all Christian kingdoms belong to the patrimony of St. Peter, he acknowledges it to be his own duty to sow among them the seeds of the gospel, which might, in the last day, fructify to their eternal salvation. He exhorts the king to invade Ireland, in order to extirpate the vice and wickedness of the natives, and oblige them to pay yearly, from every house, a penny to the See of Rome. He gives him entire right and authority over the island; commands all the inhabitants to obey him as their sovereign; and invests with full power all such godly instruments as he should think proper to employ in an enterprise, thus calculated for the glory of God and the salvation of the souls of men."

Having but slightly glanced at the doctrines of their teachers in Ireland's best days, we hope our readers will excuse a short recurrence to them. For this purpose, a few quotations are subjoined from a learned and pious author, the Rev. William Hamilton, B.D. and M.R.I.A., the melancholy detail of the termination of whose useful life will be found towards the close of the subsequent pages.

"William of Malmesbury* (an English writer of the year 1130), speaking of Alfred, King of the Northumbrians, asserts, in the clearest terms, that he went to Ireland, where, in the midst of literary ease and

* See Archbishop Usher's *Treatise on the Religion of the Ancient Irish*.

quiet, he was instructed in every species of philosophy."

Astronomy was successfully cultivated in Ireland, long before the days of Copernicus,—Virgilius (or Frigil, his Irish name), went forth from its schools to teach the true system of the earth, amid the cavils of an unenlightened world.

A.D. 741. "Virgilius, an ecclesiastic, a native of Ireland, taught, on the continent, the true figure of the world, maintaining that the earth was spherical, that many parts of it were yet undiscovered, and that each nation had its respective antipodes. This indisputable truth was thus ignorantly combated in an epistle from the Roman Pontiff Zachary, to Boniface his successor. 'If it be proved that Virgilius hath advanced this impious and perverse doctrine, that there exists another world, and other men under the earth, deprive him of his priesthood,—expel him from the church.' " *

"The Irish,† who in this (the eighth) century, were known by the name of Scots, were the only divines who refused to dishonour their reason, by submitting implicitly to the dictates of authority. Naturally subtle and sagacious, they applied their philosophy, such as it was, to the illustration of the truths and doctrines of religion,—a method almost generally abhorred and exploded amongst all other nations."

A.D. 845. "In the middle of the ninth century, the portentous doctrine of transubstantiation was form-

* Vide Usher's *Syll. Epist. Hib.*, Ware's *Irish Writers*, Mascon's *Hist. Ancient Germans*.

† See Mosheim's *Eccles. Hist. 8th Century*.

ally avowed by the church of Rome,* wherein the faithful were required to believe that actual flesh and blood occupied the place and form of visible bread and wine, in the elements of the eucharist. Against this outrage upon reason, Johannes Eregina (John of Ireland), pointed his witty and eloquent pen, ably supporting the evidence of his grosser natural senses, in opposition to the spiritual sense of Rome; and clearly demonstrated, that the sacraments of the altar were not to be esteemed the real body and blood of Christ, but only a commemoration of them." †

The controversy concerning the time of celebrating the festival of Easter, called forth the following strong expostulation of Pope Honorius:—"Let not so small a nation, situated in such a remote corner of the earth, let it not, I entreat, thus set up its own wisdom, above that of the universal church, and the decrees of Roman synods." ‡

John Erigina translated a Greek work, and dedicated it to his patron, Charles the Bald, although it had been censured by the court of Rome. This double offence brought upon his devoted head that papal vengeance from which his royal patron could not screen him; and he was obliged to fly from the coast of France to his native island, the safe asylum from Roman tyranny, where he died in the year 874. ||

The pope's letter runs thus:—"One John, of the Scots'

* See Mosheim's *Eccles. Hist.* 9th Century.

† See Ware's *Writers of Ireland*.

‡ Bede, l. 2, c. 19.

|| Dupin's *Eccles. Hist.*, &c.

nation, has translated the work of Dionysius, the Areopagite, which should have been sent to me, and approved of by my judgment, especially as said John, though a man of *excellent learning*, is suspected not to be orthodox; for which reason your majesty will please to send both the book and its author to Rome.” *

But when Ireland was invaded by the English, nothing of this kind was found. There had passed a wretched interval, of three hundred and seventy-five years, of ruin, desolation, and tides of blood. “The Irish were without stone-houses; they had no money, no foreign trade, nor any learning; neither geometry, astronomy, anatomy, architecture, engineering, painting, carving, nor any kind of manufacture, nor the least use of navigation, nor the art military.” †

A.D. 1175. The first public announcement was made to the Irish, that the kingdom of Ireland had been granted to Henry II. by Pope Adrian, in the year 1156, and confirmed to the King of England by Pope Alexander III. under the same conditions, namely, the levying Peter’s pence from the people of Ireland.

In Camden’s “Ireland” ‡ it is further stated, that Pope Urban, by his usurped and unscriptural authority, confirmed the grant of this kingdom to John, Henry’s son and successor :—

“This King, Henry, afterward delivered up the seignory of Ireland into the hands of his son John;

* Pope Nicholas’s letter to Charles II. of France. See Spotswood’s *Church Hist.*, 1, 2.

† Petty’s *Polit. Anat. of Ireland*. See letters IV. and V. of Hamilton’s *Coast of Antrim*.

‡ Page 69.

which conveyance Pope Urban confirmed by his bull, and, in testimony of his confirmation, sent him a crown of peacock's feathers, braided and embroidered with gold; whom, after he was established in his kingdom, divers authors affirm to have granted by his charter or patent, Ireland and England, both unto the church of Rome, to be held of it ever after in fee, and to have received it again from the church as a feudatory. Also to have bound his successors to pay three hundred marks unto the Bishop of Rome. But that most worthy and famous Sir Thomas More, who took the pope's part, even unto death, affirmeth this to be false. For he writeth, that the Romanists can show no such grant; that they never demanded the aforesaid; and that the Kings' of England never acknowledged it. But, by his leave, as great a man as he was, the case stood otherwise, as evidently appeareth by the parliament records, the credit whereof cannot be impugned. For in an assembly of all the states of the realm, in the reign of Edward the Third, the Lord Chancellor of England proposed and related, that the pope would judicially sue the King of England, as well for the homage as the tribute which was to be yielded for England and Ireland, for the performance whereof, King John, in times past, had obliged himself and his successors; and of this point, which he put to question, required their opinion. The bishops desired to have a day by themselves to consult about this matter; the nobles, likewise, and the people or commonalty. The day after they all met, and with one general accord ordered and enacted,—‘That forasmuch as neither King

John, nor any other king whatsoever, could impose such servitude upon the kingdom, but with the common consent and assent of a parliament, which was not done; and whatsoever he had passed was against his oath at his coronation, by him in express words religiously taken before God: therefore, in case the pope should urge this matter, they were most ready, to the utmost of their power, to resist him resolutely with their bodies and goods.' ”

We shall close this chapter by two extracts, which clearly prove, that the ancient Irish church was sound in the faith; that she held the pure doctrines of the gospel; and that she was completely independent of the See of Rome; rejecting the pope's assumed and unscriptural ecclesiastical supremacy. The first extract is taken from “Warner's History of Ireland.” He says :—

“The ancient christians in Ireland, as it appears from some of their writings, knew of no other foundation of their church than Christ himself. It was not, indeed, till the twelfth century, that the Pope of Rome pretended to any jurisdiction, temporal or spiritual, in this country. The kings and people of Ireland preserved the nomination of archbishops and bishops in their own hands; the clergy and laity of a diocese recommending a prelate, on a vacancy, to their king, and the king to the monarch, who had a negative to the nomination. Nor does it appear from any approved record of antiquity, that either visitations of the clergy were held in the name of the pope, or that any indulgences were sought, by the Irish at

his hands. They might, probably, have a regard to the piety and learning of the bishops of Rome in those days; but there are no footsteps to be found of any submission to that see, or any opinion of its infallibility: nay, there are instances of its preferring the judgment of other churches before it. Even Cardinal Baronius himself acknowledges ‘that all the bishops of Ireland stood up in defence of the three chapters condemned in the fifth general council; and when they perceived that the church of Rome received the condemnation of them, they departed from her, and adhered to the rest of the schismatics that were in Italy, Africa, or other countries; animated with this vain confidence, that they stood for the catholic faith, while they defended those things that were concluded in the council of Chalcedon.’ ”

In confirmation of this statement, we shall add the following observations from an authority, though more recent, not less entitled to credit—the Rev. John Graham:—“The church of Ireland was well entitled to protection from England, which owed her a debt of magnitude for the conversion of Cumberland, and the counties adjoining to it, by St. Aidan and the other disciples of St. Columb-kille, educated at the isle of Iona, under the auspices of that early promoter of Christianity, at a time when ‘no Italian priest could tithe or toll on these dominions.’ The faith of the church of Ireland, for sum and substance the same this day as it was in the sixth century, as demonstrated by primate Usher in his account of the religion of the ancient Irish. It continued pure till the twelfth cen-

tury, when England corrupted it by the introduction of popery; and even then, and through the succeeding ages, till the subjugation of the island by Queen Elizabeth's armies, divine truth was not without a witness in it; for the Culdees continued in existence, following the doctrine and discipline of the Greek church, independent of Rome, until the establishment of the protestant faith, and the colonization of Ulster at the commencement of the seventeenth century."

SUMMARY OF IRISH HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

Ireland unsettled—Want of union among the English settlers—Strongbow, Viceroy—Insurrection at Ossory—Marriage of Raymond le Gros—His successes—Limerick taken—Accusations against Raymond—Submission of Roderic to Henry II.—Articles of the Treaty—Roderic Don, the last King of Ireland—Submission of all the Provincial Kings to the King of England—Appointment of Viceroys and others Officers of State, &c. &c.—Colonies of Spanish origin—Death of Strongbow—Excommunicated by the Bishop of Ferns—Pope's legate sent to Ireland—Fitz-Aldelm, Chief Governor—Down taken by the English—Vivian, the Pope's legate, detected of imposition—De Courcy's successes in Ulster, and De Cogan's in Connaught—Limerick burned—Hugh de Lacy, Governor—Erection of Monasteries—Death of Laurence, Archbishop of Dublin—De Courcy created Lord of Connaught and Earl of Ulster—Prince John in Ireland—Recalled—De Courcy, Chief Governor—Succeeded by Sir Hugh de Lacy—Noble conduct of Sir Armoric St. Laurence.

HAD Henry II. remained in Ireland with a strong army, he might have kept the chieftains in subjection ; but when more imperative duties called him away, they thought only of casting off his authority and defending

their territories from the encroachments of the English settlers; whose disunion, among themselves, aided the efforts of the Irish to disentangle themselves from their hateful yoke.

There was a spirit of insubordination among the English soldiers, and a spirit of rivalry among their commanders. Hervey de Mount-Maurice was detested, while the next officer in command, Raymond le Gros, was idolized.

The king had deprived Strongbow of the direction of affairs; but, at the present crisis, vested him with the title and authority of Viceroy.

The success of Raymond and his influence over the soldiery emboldened him to ask the new governor for his sister Basilia in marriage, and also for the united offices of constable and standard-bearer, which were instantly refused; and Raymond, in high displeasure, retired to Wales, where, by the death of his father, William Fitz-Gerald, he inherited some lands.

His absence at such a time was disastrous to the English. Hervey of Mount-Maurice, being the sole commander, led out a strong reinforcement against Donald O'Brian, who had stirred up an insurrection at Ossory.

In the night time, while the English soldiers rested, Brian came suddenly upon them, and meeting with no resistance, they were all massacred. The movement became general, the Irish simultaneously took up arms—Donald Kavanagh, the son of Dermot, King of Leinster, rebelled against the King of England; and Roderic, with his confederate forces, made an irruption

into Meath and levelled the English fortresses even to the confines of Dublin. Strongbow retreated to Waterford; and being now convinced that the presence of Raymond was necessary to secure their conquest, he invited him to return, promising him all he had sued for; namely, the hand of Basilia and the offices of constable and standard-bearer of Leinster. Raymond joyfully accepting the terms, hastened to Ireland with his kindred and followers; consisting of thirty knights, one hundred men at arms, and three hundred archers. Among his relatives, the brave Meyler Fitz-Henry had already signalized himself in Irish warfare.

The Danes had not been expelled from Waterford, and were mingled among the Irish. Reginald, a Danish prince, erected the tower which Strongbow made use of as a prison for the Irish and Danish chieftains.

The foundation of Waterford is ascribed to the Danes, by Sitiricus, in 853. At the first landing of the English, near the city, the Danes and Irish opposed them; a battle was fought, in which the English were victorious. Waterford was taken. Among the prisoners were Reginald, Prince of the Danes of Waterford, and Malachy O'Feolain, an Irish prince, who were confined in Reginald's Tower.

Leaving a garrison in Waterford, Strongbow marched to Dublin, which he added to his conquests. Subsequently, on his return to Waterford, the Danes planned an insurrection which was to have comprehended a general massacre of the English, of which Strongbow was in continual dread, and when he and Raymond marched

to Wexford, Purcell, Governor of the town, in attempting to follow by boat on the Suir, was intercepted and slain by the Danes, who also murdered all the English that remained in the city, except a few who escaped to Reginald's Tower, which they gallantly defended until the conspirators, fearing the event of their revolt, yielded up the city on terms little advantageous to themselves.*

Under the conduct of his whole force, Raymond led Strongbow and the lady Basilia to Wexford, where his nuptials were celebrated with rejoicing.

Strongbow gave the lands of Idrone, Fethard, and Glascarrig to his sister in dowry. That extensive district in Kilkenny which came into her husband's possession, afterwards called Grace's country, is said to have received this designation from his cognomen *Gros*, which, in being transmitted to his descendants, was changed into *Gras* or *Grace*.

Raymond had little breathing time from actual service. Roderic, with his Irish army, advanced towards Dublin, plundering and burning all before him. The impulse of passion and hope of plunder had assembled a multitudinous undisciplined army, which was easily dispersed by Raymond's forces. His next enterprise was an attack upon Limerick, a town built upon an island, encompassed by the noble river Shannon.

At the approach of their assailants, the inhabitants, provided with stones, mounted the walls which hung over the river. The rapidity of the current deterred

* Smith's History of Waterford. Cox.

the troops from crossing, but when they saw Meyler Fitz-Henry dash through a fordable part under a shower of missile weapons, four knights courageously followed, as did afterwards the whole army, with the loss of but three lives.

The terrified citizens hastily fled, leaving their city and property at the mercy of a rapacious soldiery. Raymond having placed the town under the custody of Meyler, with a garrison, returned triumphantly to Leinster, where he encountered a new and more formidable enemy in his rival Hervey of Mount-Maurice.

1175. Henry sent two emissaries from Normandy in order to investigate the state of Ireland, and to proclaim the bull of Pope Adrian. Mount-Maurice made use of this opportunity to asperse the character of Raymond; and he not only accused him of having converted the English army into a lawless band of freebooters, whose depredations had stirred up the Irish to rebel, but that he had also laid a plan to usurp to himself the entire dominion of Ireland, and for this purpose had bound the soldiers in treasonable oaths. Such misrepresentations having been duly reported to the King of England, the removal of so dangerous and powerful a subject was deemed expedient, and Raymond received orders to repair to Normandy. In the mean time, O'Brian of Thomond, after having collected a considerable force, surrounded Limerick, and by preventing the garrison from receiving supplies of provision, reduced them to the last extremity. Strongbow would have gone himself to the relief of the town, but the soldiers mutinously declared that they would

follow no leader but Raymond. The king's commissioners were consulted, and perceiving the emergency of the circumstances, they advised the reinstatement of the general, who, after some show of reluctance, resumed his office, with his usual success. Again the Irish were routed, and so decisive a victory gained that O'Brian was compelled to sue for peace. Roderic also suffered a total defeat, hence both princes made submission and gave hostages to Raymond.

1176. During the course of this year, Roderic sent an embassy to England to negotiate with Henry in his name. The men who undertook this office were Catholcus, archbishop of Tuam; Concors, Abbot of St. Brendans; and the king's chancellor, Master Laurence, of Dublin (as the archbishop was styled). About Michaelmas they waited on Henry at Windsor. A grand council was held by extraordinary summons, and a solemn convention was ratified upon the following terms:

Roderic, as Henry's liegeman, to be king under him, ready to do him service as a faithful vassal; on which condition, he should still possess his hereditary dominions on as firm a tenure as he had done before the coming of Henry to Ireland. All the kings of principalities were to be in subjection to Roderic, and, with all other inhabitants of the island, were to pay tribute to him for the King of England: in case of refusal, Roderic was authorised to deprive them of their possessions and government. If, by his own means, he could not effect this, the King of England was to afford him assistance.

The annual tribute required from Roderic was a "merchantable hide for every ten head of cattle killed in Ireland;" that is to say, of what belonged to the Irish, for the English settlers were not to be interfered with by Roderic, nor was he, in any wise, to exercise authority over them. The lands which were thus exempt were Dublin and its suburbs; the whole of Leinster, Meath, Waterford, and the country to Dun-garvan inclusive.

In aftertimes, this territory was called the Pale. "At the time of the English invasion, Ireland was subdivided into independent provinces, of which the principal were Desmond, under the Mac Carthys; Thomond, subject to the O'Brians; Leinster, under the *Hy-Kinselagh line of Mahons; the south Hy-Niall, under the O'Niells and O'Donalls; and Hy-Brune, together with Hy-Fiacre, otherwise Connaught, under the O'Connors."—Dissertat. Sect. 13.

"According to the treaty, if any of the Irish who had fled from the territories of the king's barons wished to return, they were permitted to do so on condition of paying the above-mentioned tribute; or performing the services required by their tenures, at the option of their immediate lords; and if refractory, Roderic, at the requisition of their lords, was to compel them to return."†

And, moreover, the King of Connaught was em-

* Hy is an adjective in Irish, denoting not only the heads and founders of families, but also the territories possessed by such.—*Smith.*

† Leland.

powered to take hostages from all those whom the King of England had committed to him, at his own and the King of England's choice, which hostages he was to give to the king, or to whomsoever the king appointed to receive them. And annual services were required, also presents to the King of England of Irish dogs, hawks, &c. &c.

The articles of the treaty were agreed upon, and ratified in a council of barons and prelates, eight of whose names are affixed to the document; but no engagements appear to have been considered binding. The history of this discontented people affords a melancholy series of rebellions, warfare, and subjugation, which have wasted their powers and tinged their green fields with the blood of the slain. Minute particulars of such calamitous details are not intended in this outline. I shall merely glance at some, and wholly omit many, in order to give place to the more prominent and interesting features of Irish history blended with that of England.

It has been sufficiently proved that Ireland was once a civilized, enlightened country. Why has the bright side of the picture been reversed? From whence proceeds the dark cloud which overshadows the land, and casts its baneful influence upon the minds of an intelligent people? The reason is obvious—the new religion which the English introduced among them, or rather forced upon them, blinded their eyes and hardened their hearts. Instead of that sweet charity which

“ Builds our quiet, as she forms our lives ;
Lays the rough paths of peevish nature even ;
And opens in each heart a little heaven ;”

these poor misguided people turn from all the charities of life to meditate vengeance and death. Before the glory of Ireland passed away, we have seen how highly the word of God was venerated and its precepts inculcated rather than those of men. The people did not then turn from the truth, as it is in Jesus, to superstitious vanities. But when they gave up that strong-hold, the evils, which they foresaw not, fell heavily upon them. Had they been as tenacious of the faith once delivered to the saints of their own highly favoured island as they were, and still are, of forfeited uncertain possessions, of which death must one day deprive them, their prosperity would not have vanished as "a day-dream."

Roderick O'Connor Dun, the last monarch of Ireland, received the surname Dun or Don (*i. e.* brown) probably from having had a dark complexion. He seems to have been the first of his race on whom the title was conferred, which from henceforward was transmitted to his posterity.

From the statement of Giraldus Cambrensis, and a manuscript in the possession of Baron Howth, the provincial kings were Dermot Mac Carthy, King of Cork; Donald O'Brian, King of Limerick; O'Carrell, King of Uriel; Macshaglin, King of Ophaly; O'Rorke, King of Meath; O'Neale, King of Ulster; all these, with the other nobles of Ireland and their followers, gave up their power and authority to Henry II., under their charter, subscribed, signed, delivered, and transmitted to Rome.

From the time that the English took possession of

Ireland, the Kings of England appointed regents or viceroys to manage the affairs of the state, whom, in their letters patent, they termed, as it pleased them, keepers of Ireland, *custodes* or *wardens*, justices of Ireland, lieutenants, and deputies. Ample jurisdiction and authority were committed to them, such as kings exercise ; they had power to make war and conclude peace ; to appoint nearly all officers ; to pardon all crimes (high treason excepted) ; to confer the honour of knighthood, &c. On the appointment of a viceroy, preparatory to his entering into that office, the letters patent are read ; and after a solemn oath, in the prescribed form, before the chancellor, the sword is delivered up and carried before him to the chair of state, where, being seated, the lord chancellor stands beside him with the rest of the privy council, the peers, and nobles of the kingdom ; also a king at arms, serjeant, and other officers of state, to advise and assist him in all matters. The same degrees of state officers were appointed for Ireland as in England ; *i. e.* the lord chancellor, the treasurer of the kingdom, earls, bishops, barons, and judges, which formed the privy council ; there were also knights and esquires.

The supreme court of the kingdom of Ireland was the parliament, called by the deputy at the king's pleasure, and by the same authority dissolved. There were four terms kept, and five courts of justice—the star chamber, the chancery, the king's bench, the common pleas, and the exchequer.

Governors were appointed to take charge of Connaught and Munster. The first was called a com-

missioner; the last a president; they had officers under them; all of whom were under the government of the viceroy.

The records of the kingdom state, that “King Henry III., in the twelfth year of his reign, gave commandment to his justice of Ireland that, calling together the archbishops, bishops, barons, and knights, he should cause there, before them, to be read the charter of King John; which he caused to be read accordingly, and the nobles of Ireland to be sworn, as touching the observation of the laws and customs of England, and that they should hold and keep the same.”

But the Irish disdaining them, still retained their own Brehon laws. The kings of England afterwards made this a pretext for not granting the benefit of the English laws, but, by special favour, to those Irish families who were accounted of the blood royal—such were the O’Neals, the O’Connors, O’Brians, Mac Loughlins, Mac Morroghs.

Besides the civil magistrates, a military officer was appointed, called the mareschal, who was very necessary to restrain the insolence and depredations of the soldiers. This was made an hereditary office to the Barons de Morley, of England, as appears by records of King John:—“We have given and granted unto John Mareschal, for his homage and service, our Marshalship of Ireland, with all appurtenances. We have also given to him, for his homage and service, the cantred in which standeth the town of Kilbunny, to have and to hold unto him and his heirs of us and our heirs;” from whom it descended in the right line to the barons of Morley.

The marshal had one or more provost-marshals under him, according as the exigencies of the time required, who exercised their authority under the great seal of Ireland.*

After their best lands had been given up, Dermot Mac Carthy, King of Desmond, retreated to the southern part of the county of Kerry, where he was closed in by natural bulwarks—rocks, woods, and mountains seemed to promise him shelter and security. He was not molested by a foreign foe, but he had a son who would not permit him to possess his small territory in peace. Cormac cast his aged father into prison, while he established himself in the place from which he had driven him. Raymond le Gros was at Limerick; Mac Carthy found means to apprise him of the conduct of his unnatural son, imploring his aid and protection. This was readily granted, and Mac Carthy was reinstated, while his son Cormac was first imprisoned, and afterwards executed. Dermot rewarded his deliverer by making over to him a considerable part of the county of Kerry, which became the possession of Maurice, the son of Raymond, and from hence this district was called Clan Maurice. In former times it was called Lixnaw,† from the ancient Luceni, mentioned by Strabo and Ptolemy as a people inhabiting the inland parts of this country towards the Shannon. These Luceni are, by all writers, derived from the Lucensii of Spain, of Scythian extraction. They established themselves on the southern side of the

* Camden.

† Camden says, there are some remains in the barony of Lixnaw, which give the title of baron to the Earls of Kerry.

Shannon—the Concani on the northern side, in the province of Connaught. Other colonies of Spanish origin are found in those parts of Munster which are nearest to the Spanish coast, Iberi, Velebri, &c.

The distance between Cape Ortegal in Spain, and Cape Clear in Ireland, is but 150 leagues, being nearly opposite to each other north and south. In those remote ages, before the use of the compass was discovered, the mariners observed the sun by day and the stars by night, in order to direct their course, seldom venturing far from the sea coast, which was easily effected, at least for two-thirds of the way in making the passage.

Remains of the Irish language may be traced among the Vascones and Cantabrians, as is shown by Llhuyd in his *Archeologia*, where also many singular customs are described which agree with the Irish; as wearing *bonnets*,* short skeins, or dirks. In Cantabria the peasants still wear Irish courrans, or rough shoes without heels; they use the same kind of pipes; and their favourite tunes and ways of dancing are similar. In shape and feature they resemble the tall, slight form, and glossy black hair of the Momonian Irish; quite a different race from the inhabitants of the eastern coast, who are like the Welch—thick-limbed, short, and squat.

Before the arrival of Strongbow, the above-mentioned Mac Carthy was one of the great men of Ireland, and

* The bonnets here spoken of must have been those of olden times, as no peculiar head-dress of that description is now observed among the Irish peasantry.

was styled Mac Carthy More.* He was King of Cork and Desmond, which comprehended a range of country from Lismore to the Brandon hills, in the county of Kerry; it also included the county of Cork and western parts of Waterford. In the Irish language Desmond signifies South Munster.†

1177. In the summer of this year Raymond received a message from his wife informing him that her great tooth, which had long troubled her, had at length fallen out. By this he understood that Strongbow was dead; and as his appearance in Dublin was necessary, he was obliged to leave Limerick in the custody of Donald O'Brian, Prince of Thomond, who entered into a solemn engagement to be faithful to his charge and to deliver it up at the king's pleasure. But how faithfully he kept his promise was soon seen; the instant that the English troops had passed the bridge it was broken up and the town set on fire in four places. Brian, in issuing his orders, declared that "Limerick should never again be a nest for foreigners." When this news reached King Henry, he said, "Great courage was displayed in taking the town, greater in the recovery of it, but wisdom only in the abandonment."

Raymond, with general consent, acted as chief governor until the king's pleasure was known.

* *More*, in Irish, signifies great or large.

† Smith's Cork.—Munster was called Momonia, which, from some learned derivation found in Ptolemy, means Regia Mater—the mother country. Desdemonia, or Desmond, is the southern part of that province, and in former times its boundaries extended from the sea to the river Shannon. It was a kingdom in itself. At the time of the English invasion the Mac Carthys were the greatest of the Irish septs.

Funeral honours were paid to Strongbow, and a monument erected to his memory in Christ church. By the Irish he was considered a cruel, unrelenting oppressor. Leland describes him courteous and liberal—possessing a calm temper and equanimity of mind—not easily elated or depressed—cautious in forming plans, undaunted and vigorous in executing them.*

Isabel,† his only surviving child, was heiress to all his vast possessions, his personal property, and that which he had obtained by conquest, as well as her inheritance in right of her mother, the Princess Eva. She was given in marriage to William Maxfield, Earl Marshal of England, who in right of his wife became Earl of Pembroke and Prince of Leinster.‡

The Bishop of Ferns had excommunicated the Earl of Pembroke on pretence of his having seized two manors belonging to the church ; upon the death of that nobleman the bishop appeared before the king, and claimed restitution. Having received orders to pronounce absolution at the earl's tomb for this purpose, he attended

* His titles, taken from "Hanmer's Chronicle," are as follows:—"Richard, surnamed Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke, Earl of Strigule (alias Chepstow), Earl of Ogie, in Normandy, Earl of Leinster, Earl Marshal of England, Vicegerent of Normandy, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and Prince of Leinster in right of Eva his wife, sole heiress of Dermot Mac Morrogh, King of Leinster."

† Tradition gives also to Strongbow a son, who was slain by his father's order for an act of cowardice. There was an epitaph on his tomb, beside that of his father, which Dr. Hanmer gives in latin and English:—

"My sonne unkinde did flie the field, the father fighting hard:
Nor me, nor English birth didst weigh, nor kingdome didst regard."

‡ Hanmer.

the king thither, and said, "Oh, William! thou that liest fast bound in the chains of excommunication, if what thou hast injuriously taken away be restored by the king, or thy heir, or any of thy friends, with competent satisfaction, I absolve thee. Otherwise, I ratify the sentence, that, being bound in thy sins, *thou mayest remain damned in hell for ever!*" The heir would not yield to the bishop's claim, neither was there friend or king to make restitution, and the malediction pronounced was confirmed. The common people afterwards attributed the extinction of the male line of this family to the judgment brought on by the bishop's imprecation.*

1177. Pope Alexander sent Vivian to Ireland as legate of the apostolical see. He was a priest and cardinal, and was denominated, "*Sancti Stephani de Monte Coelius*."†

King Henry appointed William Fitz-Aldelm, his kinsman, to be chief governor of Ireland, accompanied by twenty knights; he also sent John de Courcy, Robert Fitz-Stephen, and Milo de Cogan, with ten knights each; these men had passed two years already in Ireland. The new viceroy, with his knights and attendants, landed at Wexford, where Raymond received them and delivered up his temporary charge.

Fitz-Aldelm was very unfit for this important post. Giraldus represents him an overbearing, covetous, malicious, sensual character. He looked upon his competitor with a jealous eye, and uttered threats in the

* Hanmer, from Matthew Paris.

† Camden's Annals of Ireland.

hearing of some by-standers that he would lower his pride. He made pompous excursions to inspect the forts and cities on the coast, while he disregarded the insurrections of the Irish, and did not investigate the cause of their discontent. To aggrandize himself and his kindred was the course he pursued, by fraud and cunning more than by open force.

Hanmer calls Sir John de Courcy "as valiant a knight as ever trod on Irish ground." His friend and associate, Sir Armoricus de Sancto Laurentio (from whom the noble house of Howth is lineally descended), bore the same character. Their bond of friendship was cemented by a family alliance; the latter knight had taken the sister of the former to be his wife. They entered into an agreement to serve together, and equally divide their acquisitions, whether gained by the sword or by grants from the crown. De Courcy had received by patent from Henry a grant of all the land (not yet conquered) that he and his chosen friend could possess themselves of in Ireland by military force, unshackled with any burden, saving that of homage and fealty to the king.

Sir Roger Poer, also a distinguished knight, joined their party. They marched to Ulster, which had not yet been subjugated by the English. Hanmer gives an animated description of the surprise and consternation caused by their unexpected appearance in the county of Down. The chieftain O'Donnell, wholly unprepared, betook himself to flight, leaving all he possessed to their mercy. Officers and soldiers pouring into the town, threw the inhabitants into the utmost perturbation—sounds unheard of saluted their ears; their own clamours

increased the deafening din occasioned by the blowing of trumpets ; the clashing of arms ; the rattling of armour ; the shouting of men ; the screaming of women and children ; people running in every direction ; houses ransacked and rifled ; doors, windows, cupboards, and chests, torn open to supply the wants of famished, weary soldiers, after four days harassing march. Thinking they had nothing more to do than to eat, drink, and be merry, they suffered a week to pass away inactively ; meanwhile O'Donnell had collected a considerable force, and was joined by Roderic, the monarch, with the addition of 10,000 men. They besieged the town, but not so closely as to prevent a sally. The English knights effected this with their little army of seven hundred men ; choosing an advantageous position, they divided themselves into three companies ; Sir Armoric, with the cavalry, formed a wing to the left, each horseman with a bow-man behind him. The English had the advantage of a hedge and ditch at one side, and a bog at the other, over which the enemy's horse could not pass. The combat was obstinate. The English obtained the victory after severe losses. Lionel St. Lawrence, the nephew of Sir Armoric, was slain. Vivian, the Pope's legate, was present on this occasion, and interceded for the Bishop of Down, who was taken prisoner, with several others, by the English army. According to Hanmer, Vivian was entertained by Roderic and the bishop ; the Irish asked counsel of him whether it were best to fight, or yield to the English ? He seemed to forget Adrian IV. and Alexander III. in his reply,—“ *Fight in defence*

of your country." But he wisely took the precaution of making the church of Down his sanctuary, having in readiness the Pope's commission and the King of England's pass for his safe conduct, directed to the captains in Ireland. At his request the Bishop of Down was released. After the defeat of the Irish at Down, the legate repaired to Dublin, where he called a synod, and publicly declared the King of England's right to Ireland, made over to him by the Pope's grant and confirmation, pronouncing all those accursed who withstood the same. Hanmer says the book of Howth records this fact.

The English officers detected Vivian in the imposition which he practised on the people, in receiving payment for indulgences, &c. &c., and they ordered him to quit the country, or serve with them in the wars, rather than receive money for nought.*

The province of Ulster is counted the fifth part of Ireland, and often called in latin Ulidia. Camden describes it a large country, spread over with fine loughs, shaded with many and thick woods, barren in some places, very verdant and fruitful in others, replenished throughout with cattle. Uriel and Iriel are names given by the Irish to the county of Louth. One of its kings, Donate or Donald, was the founder of Mellifont Abbey, much accounted of by St. Bernard. It stands, a beautiful ruin, not far from Drogheda. This town, called Tredah in English, is divided by the river Boyne, near the mouth of which it is built. Donate,

* Hanmer.

the founder of the monastery, “departed in Christ in the year 1168.”*

During the time that de Courcy was engaged in the north, Milo de Cogan was making his way in the west ; he crossed the Shannon into Connaught with 540 men, where, as it is said, no Englishmen ever before had entered. The Connaught men escaped to their fastnesses, driving their cattle before them, and carrying away their provisions and effects : such as they could not carry off, they set fire to—houses, cottages, towns, and villages. Cogan continued his march to Tuam, where he halted eight days ; but finding the country deserted, no man dwelling in his house, nor any animal fit for food browsing on the pasturage, he no longer remained there. On his return towards the Shannon he encountered Roderic, who had men in ambush lying in wait, in three several companies. There was a tedious skirmish, in which many of the Irish lost their lives ; while on the side of the English only three men were slain, and Cogan, without further opposition, passed the river, and arrived safely in Dublin.

1178. The king rewarded the services of Milo de Cogan and Robert Fitz-Stephen with the grant of South Munster, to be equally divided between them ; that is to say, the kingdom, but not the city of Cork, nor the adjoining cantred.

At the same time that South Munster was given to Cogan and Fitz-Stephens, Henry gave North Munster, that is to say, the kingdom of Limerick, to Philip de

* Camden's Annals of Ireland.

Braosa. Aided by Cogan and Fitz-Stephens, he led on his army in order to seize on his possessions ; but when they arrived near Limerick they saw the city in flames. This was the desperate act of the inhabitants, rather than deliver it up again to the English. Contrary to the advice of his two coadjutors, Braosa abandoned the enterprise, saying he would return with them to Cork and dwell safely among friends, rather than trust his life to people who would set fire to their own houses and cut the throats of the English.

1178. This year Fitz-Aldelm* was recalled into England. Hanmer says, “he did no honour to the king, neither good to the country;”—of whom no good man approved, and after his death the Irish chronicles defamed. In his place the king appointed Hugh de Lacy deputy of Ireland, in conjunction with Robert Poer, seneschal of Wexford and Waterford.

In reference to the new governor we shall again have recourse to Hanmer. “The realm of Ireland was at this time singularly well governed by Hugh de Lacy, a good man and a wise magistrate ; who, for the benefit of the country, established many useful institutions, and maintained order. He erected bridges, and built towns, castles, and forts throughout Leinster, as did John de Courcy in Ulster ; the priest kept his church, the soldier his garrison, and the ploughman followed his plough. But this quiet state of things, after four years, was interrupted, for envy never sleeps. De Lacy had

* Fitz-Aldelm, by order of Henry, founded the Abbey of St. Thomas, in memory of Thomas à Becket, near Dublin, at a place now called Thomas Court.

enemies by whom accusations against him were brought before the king. The jealous temper of Henry was roused: he believed all the reports he heard; and ordering the return of De Lacy, sent two other governors to Ireland, Philip of Worcester and Hugh Tyrrel. Sir Hugh de Lacy, on his removal from the vice-royalty, took possession of Meath, which he had received as a grant. In order to improve and secure his property he erected forts, &c.

1186. There had been an ancient abbey at Durrow. On this venerated site, while De Lacy was stooping in one of the trenches, a labourer struck him with his axe on the back of his head and killed him.

Richard, the brother of Milo de Cogan, was appointed governor of Cork, with whom Henry sent a chosen body of troops to strengthen the garrison. He was also accompanied by two of Robert Fitz-Stephen's nephews, Philip and Gerald Barry, which last was Silvester Giraldus Cambrensis, the famous historian—one of whose works, entitled "The Conquest of Ireland," is an account of the English invasion. He is often quoted by Dr. Hanmer* and others as the trustworthy recorder of his own times.

Many English lords, in their zeal for the new religion they had introduced into Ireland, as well as to make improvements in architecture, employed themselves in demolishing the old places of worship and erecting new

* It is mentioned in the Irish Histories of Campion, Hanmer, and Spencer, dated 1633, that Dr. Meredith Hanmer died of the plague at Dublin, in 1504. We find the same name as the translator of Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History.

ones. Hervey of Mount-Maurice set the example ; he founded the abbey of Dunbrody, in which he “cloistered himself.” Cambrensis says, “I would he had changed his conditions with his habits.”

Hugh de Lacy erected two monasteries in Meath for Augustine canons; one at Duleek, the other at Colp, at the mouth of the Boyne. In bye-gone days this place was called Inver-Colpa. The ruins have been traced, including in the arches the Saxon and Gothic styles.

1180. This year the see of Dublin became vacant by the death of Laurence, the archbishop. The following statement is abridged from the account of him given by Hanmer. He was educated at Glendalough, and grew up so virtuously that he was made Abbot of Glendalough:—
“So holy a man was he, as some authors write, that he caused one of his men to whip him twice a day (belike he deserved it in his youth). His legend reporteth that in time of scarcity and famine in Ireland he relieved five hundred persons daily at his door for three years. Henry II. did not favour him, for he had, both in public and private, at sundry times been an instigator to rebellion and much mischief against the English nation. Contrary to his oath at the council of Lateran, he inveighed bitterly against Henry. Stanihurst says that he only pleaded for the immunities of the churches of Ireland, somewhat prejudicial to the king’s prerogative.

“He came to the king at Canterbury, where the monks received him with solemn procession, and he gave himself one whole night to prayer, before the shrine of Thomas à Becket, for good success to the king’s affairs. A fool seeing him in his pontifical robe, wholly devoted

to Thomas à Becket, said, 'I can do no better deed than to make him equal with St. Thomas;' with a club in his hand, he pierced through the crowd, and gave him such a blow upon the pate that the blood ran down his ears; the wound was so bad that they thought it would occasion his death, but the bishop called for water, and in a short time was healed." The fool escaped in the tumult he caused.

The archbishop followed Henry into Normandy, and there died. According to Hollinshed, the king sent Jeffry de Haile, one of his chaplains, as the Pope's legate, to seize the archbishopric, to which an Englishman, John Cuming, was appointed in 1180.

This John Cuming* pronounced a sentence of excommunication against Hamo de Valoniis, Lord Justice of Ireland, and his associates, in revenge for injuries which he received from Hamo. Moreover, by an interdict, he suspended the celebration of all religious rites in the city and diocese, thus involving the unoffending with the guilty.†

There were two sorts of excommunication, the less and the greater. The less penalty separated those who were under it from a participation in all the sacraments of the church until they were absolved. The greater penalty inflicted a separation "from God, and

* Ware, p. 317.

† "John Cuming succeeded Laurence, Archbishop of Dublin, an Englishman, born at Evesham, in England, chosen with good agreement and accord by the clergy of Dublin (the king, by his industry, procuring the same), and confirmed by the Pope; which John afterwards founded the church of St. Patrick, in Dublin."—*Camden's Annals of Ireland*.

from all holy church, and also from the company of all Christian folk, never to be saved by the passion of Christ, nor to be holpen by the sacraments that be done in holy church, nor to have part with any Christian man.”*

De Courcy carried on his conquests in Ulster, and was created Lord of Connaught by King Henry, and Earl of Ulster. Hanmer says, “He builded many castles in Ulster, made bridges, mended highways, repaired churches, and governed the country in great peace until the days of King John.”

Roderic, after a sanguinary conflict with his sons, who took up arms against him, yielded up his territory (Connaught) to Connor, his eldest son, and retired to a monastery, hoping to have peace in his latter days.

1185. The Pope gave Henry “leave to crown his younger son, Prince John, King of Ireland, and with the permission, sent him a crown of peacock’s feathers, interwoven with gold ; in granting this favour, which cost him nothing, he required in return a penny from every house in Ireland, which was no inconsiderable addition to his revenues.

“Henry did not run the risk of having his younger son crowned in Ireland, lest his elder son, Richard, should expect to be crowned in England. Therefore he only knighted him, and sent him to Ireland as governor.”†

Prince John landed at Waterford in Easter week. In Camden’s Annals we find the following record :—

“1185. John, the king’s sonne, Lord of Ireland by

* *Becon’s (Reliques of Rome) Works*, vol. iii., fol. 378.

† Rabin.

his father's gift, came into Ireland in the twelfth year of his age ; in the thirteenth year after his father's coming."

The prince was attended by a train of young Normans, noble in appearance but ignoble in conduct. The Irish chieftains were favourably disposed towards the young prince ; and wishing to evince their good will by their reception, the Prince of Leinster, and others of equal rank, with the Archbishop of Dublin and the English lords, were waiting for his approach at the landing place in Waterford. Hanmer gives an account of the meeting, which he takes from Giraldus Cambrensis. They came peaceably, after their manner, to salute the prince and congratulate him on his coming ; some bowed before him, and some kneeled ; others took his hand, and some offered to kiss him ; but they were repelled, laughed at, and derided. The young Normans, unacquainted with the country and the homeliness of such country manners, turned all into ridicule.* The mantles, trooses,† glibbes, and long beards of the Irish lords

* Camden thus describes their dress :—"The hair of their head they wear long, and nothing set they greater store by than the glibbes or tresses of their haire ; and to have the same plucked or twitched they take it for a contumelious indignitie. They use linnen shirts, and those, verilie, exceeding large, with wide sleeves, and hanging side down to the very knees, which (shirts) they wont to stain with saffron. Little jackets they have of woollen, and those very short ; breeches most plain and tight ; over these they cast their mantles, with a deepe fringed purfle, and the same daintily set out with sundrie colours, within which they lappe themselves in the night, and sweetly sleep on the very ground. Such also do the women cast over the side garment that they wear down to the foot." He farther describes wreaths rolled round the head ; chains and bracelets adorning the necks and arms of the women.

† Trowsers.

excited their merriment, and they played the pranks of rude school boys. A chieftain was struck on the head with a stick; their mantles were plucked; their beards and glibbes were pulled; pins were stuck into their backs; and, being driven out with such indignities, the door was clapped against them.

The indignant chieftains immediately quitted the town, removing from thence all that belonged to them, and took different routes in order to spread their report to the disadvantage of the prince and his associates. With the contempt which his conduct merited, they described the boy who was sent to rule over the Irish, with beardless boys to guard and counsel him. What prospect, what hope, for the country which was to be governed by youths, in whom there was no stability, judgment, sobriety, or capacity for their arduous undertaking? On hearing these statements, the Irish princes of Cork, Connaught, and Limerick, who were preparing to depart, in order that they also might pay homage to the king's son, changed their intention, and entered into a confederacy to use every effort and means to expel the unwelcome intruders from their island. This was the commencement of a general rebellion. Cambrensis states that the spirit of revolt was strengthened by other causes. There were certain Irishmen who had faithfully served Robert Fitz-Stephen, and were rewarded by him with some lands, which they possessed peaceably until the arrival of young John with his partisans, who seized these lands for their own uses and turned the proprietors adrift.

This unjust treatment changed friends into enemies: they joined the rebel army, and from having had much intercourse with the English settlers, were very useful in the discoveries they made, and in directing the best operations to pursue. While these were planned and forwarded the young prince and his companions passed their time in idle pastime.

Lord Lyttleton observes, "All authority over the minds of the Irish which the courtesy, gravity, and prudence of Henry, during his abode in their island, had happily gained, was lost in a few days by the petulant levity of John and his courtiers; the good will of that people, on which Henry had desired to establish his dominion, being instantly turned into a national hatred."

The Norman youths are thus described by our old author, quoting the authority of Giraldus:—"These coming with the king's son into Ireland, were fine in their apparel, delicate-mouthed, feeding upon dainties; they could not digest their meat without spice and wine at every meal. They could not endure hard service in marshes and borders—they would not remain in remote places—they brooked not forts, strong-holds, and garrison places; liberty they liked (or rather inactivity), in a walled town and warm chamber. They could talk and boast of their deeds—swaggering lazily at home—talking contemptuously of the Irish, whom they dare not face in the field. They polled, peeled, and extorted from the Irish, commanding those who would not be commanded by them."

The only effort of the prince's adherents was the

erection of three castles or forts at Tibrach (now Tipperary), Lismore, and Ardfinnan.

We are now deprived of the authority of Giraldus Cambrensis. He recorded the events of thirty years, and came into Ireland for the second time as tutor and secretary to Prince John. He was the author of a work entitled "Mirabilia Hibernia," as well as the "Conquest," and "Topography of Ireland," and some other learned compositions. He was nephew to Maurice Fitz-Gerald and Robert Fitz-Stephens, and Archdeacon of St. David's, where he was buried after he had passed his eightieth year. The last event we find recorded by him, was the recall of Prince John before he had passed a year in Ireland. The king discovering the error he had committed in sending him thither, did what he could to counteract the evil by placing Sir John de Courcy at the head of affairs. This the "Book of Howth" testifies.

Giraldus Cambrensis relates of himself, that he had a conference with the Irish Bishop of Cashel, to whom he said, "you have many saints in Ireland, but I do not find any martyr among you." This being spoken in derision, offended the bishop, who quickly answered, "our people may be rude, savage, barbarous; but not so besotted and bloody-minded as to lay violent hands on a priest. It so happens, that we are to be governed by a nation which is not guiltless of the death of a prelate, and it may be the will of God, that shortly we shall make up a number of Irish martyrs." This was said in allusion to Thomas of Canterbury.

Sir John de Courcy's skill and conduct had succeeded

marvellously in quelling the tumults which agitated this unhappy land, and if the government had been left with him there was every probability of peace ; but Sir Hugh de Lacy, the younger, was sent as Chief Justice, with absolute authority to govern Ireland. Besides being much the junior of De Courcy, he was inexperienced in the art of governing, and instead of asking information from his predecessor, or consulting with him, his first act was the dismissal of De Courcy from his office, and all those who held places under him, which caused much discontent and altercation among the English, and spirited on the Irish to rid the country of them altogether. The chieftains assembled and bound themselves by a solemn compact to sacrifice life, lands, and all they held dear, if by any means they could free themselves from their intolerable yoke.

O'Connor Don, the son of Roderic, Prince of Connaught, had been the chief speaker at the meeting, and was the principal leader in the subsequent operations. He assembled his followers in Connaught, resolving first to clear his own province of the intruders, and from thence carry his army into Ulster, &c. Sir John de Courcy, being apprised of their intentions, summoned his friend Sir Armoric to his aid, who, with thirty knights and three hundred foot, set forward on their way towards the north ; but unhappily their route lay through Connaught. Unapprehensive of danger, they were marching forward, when they suddenly found themselves surrounded by O'Connor's great army, which had lain in ambush. They were completely entrapped ; to fight was death inevitable ; there was no possibility for the

infantry to escape. One of the knights, named Montgomery, proposed that they should spur on their good horses and leave the soldiers to their fate, but the gallant Sir Armoric disdained the proposal. "No," he said, "I will never forsake the men who have no means of flying;" so saying, he dismounted, knelt upon the ground, and kissing the cross upon his sword, he plunged it into his horse, crying out, "Thou shalt never serve against me that hast so worthily served with me." The other knights followed his example, and but two young men survived the slaughter which ensued. They had escaped to an eminence from whence they beheld the sanguinary conflict, and reported it to De Courcy. It was a hard fought contest; one thousand of the Irish, it is said, were slain. O'Connor's report of that day's work to Sir Hugh de Lacy, after his reconciliation, was, that he verily thought "the like was never seen upon the earth, how that the Englishmen, not being able to stand in fight, turned back to back with sparthes and two-handed swords, until the last man was slain."*

1189. Henry II. died.

* This account Hanmer quotes from the *Book of Howth*.

CHAPTER II.

Irish Weapons and Warfare—Unsettled State of the Country—
Disputes between the English Settlers—Accusations against De
Courcy—Imprisonment in the Tower of London—His bravery,
&c.—Massacre at Cullen's Wood—King John in Ireland—
Death of John—Reign of Henry III.—The whole Kingdom in a
State of Lawless Disturbance—English Laws not Enforced—
Explanation of Brehon Laws, Tanistry, &c.—Fire-keepers—
State of Religion.

CAMBRENSIS describes three sorts of weapons used by
the Irish at the time of the conquest—short lances,
javelins, and broad battle-axes, finely tempered. The
last were Norwegian, and of such force as not to be
resisted by helmet or cuirass. “It is common,” he
says, “to see the whole thigh cut off at a stroke, though
cased in armour—the limb falling on one side, the
dying body on the other.” He further states that the
Irish knights differ materially from those of other
nations in their manners and customs. Grasping their
heavy pikes or lances round the middle, they brandish
them over their heads, and launch them forward with
the utmost exertion of their strength. Their horses are
of a superior breed, and very docile. In an encounter
with the enemy the movements of the rider are rendered

easy, for, though the reins hang loosely on the neck of the animal, he stands still. On horseback the men laid aside the great hats which they were accustomed to wear, and suffered no stirrups to dangle from their trappings; though encumbered with armour and a large cloak, the knight vaulted lightly into the saddle, without any assistance, save that of his horse's left ear, or the mane on his forehead, which he caught hold of in mounting.

The gallowglasses or *galloglachs*, according to the same author, were a corps of infantry, clothed in cloaks or cassocks; men of great stature and extraordinary muscular strength; powerful swordsmen—courageous, and of a sanguinary disposition. Their weapons, resembling double-bladed hatchets, sharp as razors, about a foot in length, were fixed to long shafts: with these they inflicted desperate wounds—in every close engagement the stroke was mortal. These men constituted the basis and power of the Irish army; before any member was admitted into their ranks, he solemnly engaged himself never to flinch nor turn his back in fighting. A third description of military were the kerns—foot soldiers also; they went to battle in a sort of uniform neither cumbersome nor heavy, and made use of targets, or iron gauntlets. They were light-armed swordsmen, and whirled about their lances with amazing rapidity and power; they wounded men or horses at a distance with darts and javelins; they were dexterous slingers; but of the scientific art of military weapons they were utterly ignorant: their practice was to wound by frequent strokes,—but they seldom attacked the enemy with the point of the weapon.

1192. Dublin was reduced to ashes by an accidental fire, as had often been the case before, and frequently occurred afterwards, owing to the combustible materials used in erecting the houses, which were wattles, sedge, and straw, plastered with clay.

This year Archbishop Coming built St. Patrick's Cathedral, on the site of the old parochial church.

1199. Ireland was in a state of anarchy and confusion. De Courcy governed Ulster, and De Lacy Meath; but the enmity of these two competitors for sovereign rule was more intemperate than ever.

Richard Cœur de Lion died of the wound of an arrow; his brother John succeeded him, and appointed Meyler Fitz-Henry chief governor of Ireland: he had a difficult part to perform, between refractory Irishmen and rebellious English. De Courcy refused allegiance to John, whose title to the crown he deemed invalid. On the day of his coronation, John created William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, who came into Ireland in 1207, and built the castle of Kilkenny.

De Courcy founded an abbey on an island in the lake of Strangford, which he called Inniscurey, and endowed it with the lands of one which he had destroyed: he filled it with Cistercian monks, from the abbey of Furnes, in Lancashire. He continued to maintain good order in Ulster, as the "Book of Howth" testifies, and obtained a decided victory over his inveterate enemy, Sir Hugh de Lacy; who, finding that he could gain no advantage over De Courcy by main force, resolved on devising other means to effect his ruin. He maliciously represented to the king that De Courcy had not

scrupled to accuse him of the murder of his nephew, Prince Arthur. John, believing the report, commanded Sir Hugh and Walter de Lacy to attach the person of De Courcy; but this was not easily done—Sir John de Courcy had many friends, and having received private information of the designs of his enemies, he shunned them. Soon afterwards De Lacy proclaiming him a traitor, offered a large reward to whomsoever would take him, dead or alive. For a long time this proclamation was of no avail: he was a man of amazing muscular strength, and always carried arms, except when at his devotions; such an unguarded hour was watched for and found—in the church-yard of Down, De Courcy was suddenly surrounded by a troop of cavalry, seized, and brought to England, where he was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment in the Tower of London. The king rewarded De Lacy with the earldom of Ulster, the seigniory of Connaught, and all that had belonged to De Courcy in Ireland.

After De Courcy had remained for some time in confinement, the king and Philip of France had a quarrel, which was to be decided by single combat between two champions, one of each nation. John had no man in his realm to be compared with John de Courcy for valour and strength: in stature he was much above the common size. The prisoner being brought to court, the king asked whether he were willing to undertake his cause? The earl answered boldly, "*Not thine, but of that of the kingdom, I will fight to the last drop of my blood.*" The French champion being deterred at the account he received of the determined bravery

and prowess of his competitor, secretly absconded to Spain.

This account is taken from Rapin, who calls De Courcy an Irish lord, Earl of Ulster. He also states that the earl being in the English army in France, Philip expressed a desire to witness some trial of his strength. The experiment was made in the presence of the two kings, John and Philip. A stake with a helmet on it was fixed in the ground; De Courcy looked round with a menacing eye, then struck with a force which cleft the helmet through, his sword sticking fast in the stake. Philip having enquired into the cause of his fierce aspect before he struck, the earl replied that if he had failed he would have taken off the heads of every one present, that no survivor should proclaim his disgrace.

King John would have restored him to his possessions in Ireland, but as often as he attempted to return thither he was assailed by storms; and finding that the winds and waves were against him, he ended his days in France.

1209. Above three hundred persons were cruelly massacred at Cullen's wood, near Dublin, on Easter Monday. They were celebrating the holiday after the manner of their own country (Bristol), from whence a colony had recently established themselves in Dublin. While enjoying their pastime in the freshness of the country air, the O'Birnes and O'Tooles, two mountain septs of Wicklow, came down upon them, and, in their defenceless state, unmercifully slaughtered men, women, and children. A mournful commemora-

tion of this day (which was called Black Monday) was observed for many succeeding centuries.

1210. King John brought a large fleet and army to Ireland, where his presence was much wanted to restrain the tyranny of the De Lacys. Exasperated at the accounts brought before him John expelled the two brothers, Hugh and Walter de Lacy, from the kingdom.*

On his arrival at Dublin more than thirty of the Irish chieftains assembled to take the oath of allegiance. After John had received their homage he led his army to Connaught, where he encountered Cathal, the Irish king of the province, whose rebellion and depredations brought John at this time to Ireland. Having defeated the chieftain, and once more reduced the island to submission, he introduced the laws and customs of England, commanding their future observance in Ireland. He appointed John de Grey, Bishop of Norwich, his chief Justiciary, who caused money to be coined of the same weight and fineness as in England, in order that there should be an equal currency in both kingdoms.† The king returned to England on the 30th of August.

1213. The death of John Coming caused the appointment of a new archbishop,‡ Henry de Londres, who was also chief governor.

* They fled to France, and served the Abbot of Taurin as labourers and gardeners for two years before their name and rank were discovered. When the abbot knew who they were, he made application to the King of England, who restored them to their former possessions.

† Rapin.

‡ It is unnecessary to enter into a detail of the enormities and

John resigned his crown and other ensigns of royalty to the Pope, placing them at the feet of his legate in the church of Dover, and afterwards signed a charter, making over to the Pope his kingdom of England and seigniory of Ireland. In this charter he declared that the act of resignation he had made was not by constraint, but of his own free will, and with the advice and consent of his barons, as a restitution for past offences against God and his church, and from henceforward acknowledging himself a vassal of the *holy see*, entered into an engagement to pay a yearly rent of one thousand marks—seven hundred for England, three hundred for Ireland. He then did homage to the legate who personated the pope, and laid down the money in token of submission, which the legate spurned with his feet. The witnesses of this abject deed must have been filled with indignation, but no one expressed it save Henry, Archbishop of Dublin, who solemnly protested against the transaction, but without effect.*

1216. On the 28th of October John's unhappy life and reign terminated : he passed away unloved and unlamented. His eldest son, Henry III., was crowned at ten years of age. The Earl of Pembroke was appointed

extortions of the clergy during the ages preceding the Reformation; an instance of which is given in 1212, of Henry de Londres, the Archbishop of Dublin, whom they nicknamed "scorch-villain," and "burn-bill," "because he required to peruse the writings of his tenants, colourably pretending to learn the kind of each man's several tenure, and burned the same before their faces, causing them either to renew their estates or to hold at will." The Irish do commonly give nick-names to their governors, in respect of some fact or quality.—*Campion's History of Ireland*, c. iii.

* Rapin.

guardian and regent of Ireland, which country remained tranquil during the short period of his government; but in 1219 the death of this good and wise man became a signal for commotion. The English and Irish chieftains in Leinster and Munster were at variance, and a grant from Henry of Connaught to Richard de Burgo caused a ferment in that province. He was afterwards made Viceroy, but was soon removed from his office, to which Maurice Fitz-Gerald, lord of Ophaly, succeeded. He founded a monastery, of which we find the following record :—

“Maurice Fitz-Gerald, Lord Justice of Ireland, founded the abbey of Sligo and also the monastery of Youghal, in 1231, and acquired all the great wealth and possessions of the family of Leinster, by his marriage with Agnes, daughter and sole heir of William de Valencia, Earl of Pembroke, Lord of Offaley, Geshill, Maynooth, Rathmore, Ley, Rathmegan, Kilcock, and Rathbride, in right of his wife Joane, daughter and sole heir of Warren, Lord Monchensy, by Joan, Lady of Offaley, sister and co-heir of Anselm Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, by Isabella, daughter and sole heir of Strongbow, by Eva, his wife, only daughter and sole heir of Dermot Mac Murrough, King of Leinster. This Maurice was the first baron of Offaley of the Fitz-Gerald family.”

I shall not attempt to give the pedigree of the Geraldine families. Some branches are still dignified with the titles of the *White Knight*, the *Knight of Kerry*, and the *Knight of Glynn*, or the *Valley*.

Why these titles are given I have not ascertained,

nor the antique Milesian O'Connor Don, Mac Dermot Roe, &c., neither, as it is said, do the possessors of them know their nature or origin. The O'Connor Don, descended from Roderic the last King of Ireland, is said to be of the same race which governed Connaught for one thousand years.

1241. The Pope's nuncio, Pupine, with the permission of Henry, went to Ireland and exacted from the clergy one thousand five hundred marks; a very large sum, Rapin observes, at that time, for a country where money was extremely scarce. This year, Andelmus, a native of Cullen, in Ireland, and highly esteemed for learning and piety, was consecrated, at Westminster, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland, by the Bishop of Worcester, in the presence of the king, the legate, and many prelates.*

1243. Hugh de Lacy, Earl of Ulster, died without a male heir. His only child and heiress was married to Walter de Burgo, in whose right he became Earl of Ulster.

1245. Walter, Earl of Pembroke, died without male issue. He had succeeded his brother Gilbert, who died in 1241, in the office of Grand Marshal, which was hereditary in their family. Anselm, Dean of Salisbury, the last of the brothers, being the next heir, was likewise Marshal of England, but for a few months only, when he also died: and thus became extinct the noble family of Pembroke and Striguil. The five last earls had been invested with the dignity of Earl Marshal,

* Mathew Paris.

and all their vast possessions in England, Ireland, and Wales, were divided among five sisters, who married English noblemen.

1245. A new governor was appointed, the son of Geoffry de Maurisco. The whole country was disturbed from province to province; the Irish and English lords asserting their rights.

Royal authority was put down; and the English laws, which had been received, were set aside.

1246. The barons were commanded, that for the peace and tranquility of Ireland, they would *permit* the laws of England to be enforced.*

1257. Maurice Fitz-Gerald died. From the time of his removal from the government, the Geraldines had supported themselves, and made war or peace by their own authority. Their competitors, the race of Mac-Arthy, were fierce and warlike; on the final removal of Maurice by death, they suddenly took up arms, determined on the extermination of his family. An engagement took place, in which the Irish were victorious. A number of the Geraldines were slain, and for twelve years lived in great terror of the Irish.

1260. Sir William Denny was Chief Justice of Ireland. This year, according to Hanmer, the battle so fatal to the Geraldines was fought at a place called Cullen. John Fitz-Thomas, who founded the monastery and convent at Tralee, was slain; also his son Maurice: eight barons, fifteen knights, and many others.

* Leland.

1261. Sir W. Denny died. The disturbances in Ireland increased ; different septs warring against each other, and the English settlers equally turbulent.

In 1272, Henry III. died in his 66th year. Great hopes were entertained that his son, Edward, would use some vigorous means for the benefit of Ireland.

A century had now elapsed since this country was governed by the English, but without any effort towards its improvement.

From the time of the conquest, the district called "The Pale" had been inhabited by septs of Irish, who professing themselves well disposed towards the English government, and wishing to live peaceably among English subjects, were denied the same privileges.

On this subject Hume makes the following observations:—"Not receiving the protection of justice, the natives had no security but in force or flight. Not daring to approach the cities, they sought shelter in marshes and forests from the tyranny of unknown masters. Being treated like wild beasts, they became such—untamed, revengeful, ungovernable, and encreasingly dangerous."

"For three hundred and fifty years at least, after the conquest first attempted, the English laws were not communicated to the Irish; nor the benefit and protection thereof allowed to them, though they earnestly desired and sought the same. They might not converse nor commerce with civil men, nor enter any town or city without peril of their lives ; they might not purchase estates of freehold or inheritance, which might descend to their children, according to the course of

our common law. The natives being in the condition of slaves and villains, were *more profitable* to the lords than if they had been the king's free subjects. Those great English lords, did, to *the uttermost of their power, cross and withstand* the enfranchisement of the Irish for the causes before expressed : wherein I must still acquit the crown and state of England of negligence or ill policy, and *lay the fault upon the pride, covetousness, and ill-counsel of the English planted here ;* which, in all ages, have been the chief impediments of the final conquest of Ireland."*

King John had granted a charter of the laws and usages of England to his Irish subjects, and had bound the nobles by an oath to the observance of them. His son, Henry III., confirmed this charter by a patent of the first year of his reign ; eleven years after, he *enforced* it in a mandate directed "to his *archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, knights, freeholders, and the bailiffs of his several counties.*" Eighteen years afterward, the king besought them, *for the sake of peace and quietness, that they would permit* the English laws and customs to be observed in the land of Ireland." But neither his injunctions nor entreaties moved them. Some miserable natives, in the reign of Edward I., lingered within the English colonies, in corners of their old possessions; being beneath the notice of the settlers they were tolerated in their ancient usages, while they were excluded from all the benefits of English laws or government : "they

* Davis, 84, 103, &c.

were not acknowledged as the king's subjects; the king's courts were not open to them; and if a father's or a brother's blood was shed, there was no redress—the murderer need only plead that the victim was an Irishman to secure him from the hand of justice.

1278. So earnest did they become for the privilege of English laws, that they made up a purse of eight thousand marks, which they put into the hands of the lord justice for the king; praying him to receive them as his faithful liegemen, and to take them under the protection of the laws of England. King Edward's answer is as follows:—

“Edward, by the grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitain, to our trusty and well-beloved Robert De Ufford, Lord Justice of Ireland, greeting:

“The improvement of the state and peace of our land of Ireland, signified to us by your letter, gives us exceeding joy. We entirely commend your diligence, hoping that, by the Divine assistance, as far as in you lieth, be still further prosecuted with the greater vigour and success.

“And whereas, the Irish commonalty have made a tender to us of eight thousand marks, on condition that we grant them the laws of England to be used in the aforesaid land; we wish you to know, that inasmuch as the Irish laws are hateful to God and repugnant to justice, it seems expedient to us and our council, to grant them the laws of England; provided always, that the general consent of our people, or at least of our prelates and nobles, of the said land, do

concur in this behalf. We therefore command you, that having entered into treaty with this commonalty, and inquired diligently into the will of our people, prelates, and nobles in this matter ; and having agreed upon the largest fine of money that you can obtain to be paid to us on this account, you make, with the consent of all aforesaid, or at least of the greater and sounder part thereof, such a composition touching the premises as you shall judge, in your discretion, to be most expedient for our honour and interest. Provided also, that commonalty shall hold in readiness a body of good and stout footmen, amounting to such a number as you shall agree upon, for one campaign only, to repair to us as we may see fit to demand them."

In Ufford's reply to this letter, he said that the time was unsuitable: the greater number of the barons being absent from the seat of government, it would not be possible to collect an assembly sufficient for so respectable and grave a deliberation.

In 1280, the Irish made the same appeal: and the king issued a fresh mandate to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, &c. &c., that they should meet and consult together, whether or not, without loss to them and prejudice of their liberties, &c., such grant could be made.*

Sir John Davies, who was Attorney-General in Ire-

* "It cannot be ascertained from any authentic record, whether this council ever met ; one thing only is certain, that the bishops defeated the good intentions of the king, and closed their ears to the groans of their countrymen."—LELAND. *Phelan's Church of Rome in Ireland.*

land, explains the Brehon law and Tanistry.* He says, about half the kingdom of Ireland was divided into sixty parts or more, not equally; the territory in some being greater than in others,—over each district there was a chief ruler, and under him a tanist, who was appointed to succeed him. Both chieftain and tanist were elected by the people, who made choice of such as were most active, and had the greatest number of swordsmen and followers at their command. The chieftain had demains or mensal lands, where he retained his chief officers; these were his brehon, marshal, cupbearer, physician, surgeon, chronicler, rhymers, and others.

The chieftain had also small rents of money, cows, and customary duties of oatmeal, butter, &c., levied from the lands—those of the church only were exempt, and any such followers or relations to whom the chieftain granted exemption. Together with these immunities, the chieftain was empowered to levy tallage or impost, at his pleasure, to carry on a war, either with his neighbouring chiefs or the English, or if he had a journey to take, or if he gave an entertainment. In short, he had absolute control over the produce of the entire country allotted to him. He had, besides all this, his cosheries upon his tenants; that is, when he pleased, he had bed and board for himself and his attendants until they left their entertainer bare of all provisions. He also imposed upon his dependants the maintaining of his horsemen, boys, dogs, kerns, &c.,

* Camden thinks that the word Tanist is derived from *Thane*, a title used for noblemen, and the King's especial officer.

by which means the people were kept continually in the most abject poverty.

The Tanist had for himself an especial portion of land and certain appendages proper to his future dignity: he, too, had his cosheries. The lands which were assigned to the chieftains and their tanists were not to be divided; all the rest of the lands, which descended in course of gavelkind, were to be divided among the heirs male, legitimate and illegitimate.

No offence was ever made capital: for treason against the chieftain and murder a fine called *eric* was assessed by the chieftain or his Brehons*—if for treason, the whole fine was paid to the chieftain; if for murder, he had part of the fine, and the remainder was for the relatives of the person murdered. The possession of lands was never forfeited for any offence, though frequently seized until the fine was paid, and then restored. Theft was approved of and rewarded, if taken from another district and brought into that of the chieftain; but if a theft was committed in the district and taken to another, unless a fine could be paid before the apprehension of the thief, he was put to death: if offered in time, he was acquitted.

When cattle were stolen, if the owner could follow the track (and it is incredible how clever the Irish were in finding it), the person in whose land it was discovered was answerable to the owner, unless he could prove that the track was carried on into the lands of another. This law was observed by both the English and Irish,

* Brehons were the Irish judges and lawyers.

and ratified by an act of council, as fit and necessary for the kingdom, when the Earl of Sussex was governor.*

The Brehons, assisted by men initiated in the civil and canon law, more from tradition than reading, gave judgment in all causes, and had the eleventh part of the thing adjudged for their fee. The lords chief marshal had the execution of the law. These are the principal rules of the Brehon law, accounted barbarous by the makers of the statutes of Kilkenny, and justly so, for the effects were subversive of morality, good order, and improvement.

The law of tanistry was that which determined the future possession of property : it continued in force until the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Spencer describes the ceremony. When a successor is chosen he is called the tanist, and is brought to the top of a hill, where a stone is fixed for him to stand on. The stone bears the impress of a foot, which they said was the size of that of their first chieftain, or leader. Each successor must stand on the same impression while he swears that he will preserve inviolable all the ancient customs of the country, and deliver up peaceable possession to the next tanist. A wand being delivered to him in form, the tanist descended from the stone and turned round three times forward and three times backward.

The Irish originally instituted this law for the maintenance of property to their posterity, to the exclusion of strangers, and to defend it from innovation and alienation. The infant son of a chieftain could not be the

* Camden.

heir : the strongest and most powerful of the sept was chosen, in order that he might contend against the encroachments, not only of foreigners, but the bordering chieftains, who were ever on the alert to grasp a portion of land from their neighbours to add to their own. A certain allotment was given to the tanist, while yet his relative lived, all whose estates he was to possess at his death.

Another custom or law was called Gavelkind—by which the sons, legitimate or illegitimate, were to inherit land. These all considered themselves gentlemen; no poverty of circumstances could induce them to demean themselves to become farmers, merchants, or artificers. Such poor gentlemen, living idly at home, had much rather steal than work. Sir John Davies, from whom this account is taken, adds:—"They chose rather to live by theft, extortion, or *coshering*, than seek any better fortune abroad, which increased their septs and surnames into such numbers that there are not found in any kingdom of Europe so many gentlemen of one blood, family, and surname, as the O'Niels in Ulster, the Burkes in Connaught, and the Geraldines in Munster and Leinster."

In condemning the customs called coigne and livery, Davies writes thus:—"This most wicked and mischievous extortion was originally Irish; for the chiefs used to lay bonaght upon their people, and never gave their soldiers any other pay. But when the English lords had learned it, they used it with more insolency, and made it more intolerable; for this oppression was not temporary, or limited either to place or time; but

because there was every where a continual war, either offensive or defensive ; and every lord of a country and every marcher made war and peace at pleasure ; it became universal and perpetual, and indeed was the most heavy oppression that ever was used in any Christian or heathen kingdom ; and therefore, *vox oppressorum*, this crying sin did draw down as great or greater plagues on Ireland than the oppression of the Israelites did draw upon the land of Egypt ; for though grievous, they were of short continuance : but the plagues of Ireland lasted four hundred years together. This extortion of coigne and livery did produce two notorious effects :—First, it made the land waste ; next, it made the people idle. For when the husbandman had laboured all the year, the soldier in one night did consume the fruits of his labour ;—had he reason then to manure the land for the next year ? Hereupon, of necessity, came *depopulation, banishment, and extirpation of the better sort of subjects* ; and such as remained became idle and lookers on, expecting the event of those miseries and evil times. Lastly, this oppression did, of force and necessity, make the Irish a crafty people ; for such as are oppressed and live in slavery are ever put to their shifts.”

Bonaght was a grievous exaction, of which there were two kinds—the greater and less : the first, called Bonaght Borr, was free quarter at discretion, or in specie. The less was a commutation for it in money or provisions. Coigne, livery, and black-rents, were also the greater contributions occasionally levied on the country when the revenues of the chieftain were found insufficient for the support of his clan.

The perpetual fires kept up in various parts of Ireland for superstitious purposes, were extinguished by Henry de Londres, Archbishop of Dublin, in 1220. There are still some small remains of a ruin at Kildare, called the Fire-house. The fire was kept in a cell, twenty feet square, near the church. The fire-keepers were virgins, called in Irish *Breochuidh*, from whence originated the story of St. Bridgid and her nuns; but these were not the same as the followers of the Brigid of the fifth century. The Irish words *Breochuidh*, or *Inghean*, and *Dagha*, signify daughters of fire. They were frequently women of the highest rank, daughters of chieftains. This fire was, undoubtedly, a remains of Pagan worship; and never totally suppressed until the demolition of the monasteries.*

The state of the church, during the four reigns in which Ireland had been in subjection to England, is described by Rapin, who observes that "the affairs of the church and state are in such a manner interwoven, that they cannot be separated." The Church, according to the received opinion, was composed of the Pope and clergy exclusively.

It is true that Jesus Christ has committed to the ministers the care of instructing His church, but He gave them no commission to decide in matters of faith. The word of God in the scriptures, is the only infallible guide for both ministers and laymen. But these were laid aside, while, by false deductions, men had blindly to receive whatsoever was imposed upon them.

* Arch. Monast.

The promise of Christ applied to all believers generally, the Conclave exclusively arrogated it to themselves. Hence Papal power rose and spread its baleful influence over so many kingdoms, and its pernicious tenets produced endless anarchy and confusion: and by the monopoly of Christ's promise, that the gates of hell should not prevail against the Church; the decisions of the clergy were deemed infallible; hence the misinterpretation of the word *church* was one of the chief causes why a blind and implicit obedience was enjoined.

To the clergy the charge of the church was committed; they were to purify it from every unsound professor. According to the decision of the clergy, all such underwent the sentence of excommunication. The infallible *Church* was thus to purify* itself. That the clergy themselves were fallible was discovered by the confusion produced by their unjust sentences; they were, in general, guided by interest, caprice, or ungovernable zeal. The most numerous excommunications were thundered out against such as struck at the lands and immunities of the clergy, to whom, all along, the name of The Church was appropriated. The clergy then found it necessary for their own interest to compel the excommunicated to reconcile themselves to the church by paying the penalty required, or, as they express it, by making satisfaction. For this purpose another principle was established, viz., that spiritual punishment being found inadequate to conquer the obstinacy of hardened

* See the purity of the Church. Eph. i. iv. 25—27. Col. i. 22.

sinner ; the glory of God required temporal chastisement to enforce obedience.

Another decision was added, which was to separate all excommunicated persons, not only from the church, but from all intercourse with the faithful, even though they should be their nearest and dearest relatives : this cruel interdict prohibited their affording relief to the necessities of their indigent friends, if under the ban.*

An expedient was devised to enrich the clergy. It was ordained in the councils, that if, within forty days after excommunication, the party excommunicated did not sue to be reconciled to the church, the magistrates, upon the bishop's complaint, should be

* The following petition of a widow is preserved in the annals of the reign of Edward I., 1276 :—

“ Margaret le Blunde, of Cashel, petitions our lord the king's grace, that she may have her inheritance, which she recovered at Clonmel, before the king's judges, against David Mac Carwell, Bishop of Cashel. *Item*, for the imprisonment of her grandfather and grandmother, whom he shut up and detained in prison, until they perished by famine, because they sought redress for the death of their son, father of your petitioner, who had been killed by said bishop. *Item*, for the death of her six brothers and sisters, who were starved by said bishop, because he had their inheritance in his hands at the time he killed their father. It is to be noted, that the said bishop has built an abbey in the city of Cashel, which he fills with robbers, who murder the English and lay waste the country ; and that when our lord the king's council examine into such offences, he passes excommunication upon them. *Item*, it is to be noted, that the said Margaret has five times crossed the Irish sea ; wherefore, she petitions, for God's sake, that the king's grace will have compassion, and that she may be permitted to take possession of her inheritance. It is further to be noted, that the aforesaid bishop has been guilty of the death of many other Englishmen, besides her father ; and that the said Margaret has obtained many writs of our lord the king, but to no effect, by reason of the influence and bribery of said bishop.’—*Leland*, i. 234.

obliged to cast him into prison and confiscate his estate. Thus, when a Christian was excommunicated, he must lose his liberty and property, or comply with the exorbitant demands of a rapacious clergy. This decree of the councils was admitted by some crowned heads, who expected an increase to their revenues by means of these confiscations; not reflecting that they themselves, as Christians, were under the same spiritual authority as their subjects from the time that they consented to the unlimited authority assumed by the Church, or rather by the Popes, whose increasing power extended itself over all sovereigns.

Even kings were excommunicated, and in some instances deserted by their subjects and domestics. Scruples arose in the minds of some Christians who had taken the oath of allegiance to their sovereign; but the Pope absolved them from that oath by virtue of the fulness or the apostolic power.

“Pope Innocent III. published a bull which absolved John’s subjects from their oath of allegiance, and enjoined them, on pain of excommunication, to refuse him all obedience.”

During the reign of Henry II. a synod was held at Cashel, in order to put the Church of Ireland on the same footing as the Church of England; that is to say, to reduce the Irish clergy under the Pope’s jurisdiction, pursuant to the king’s promise when he demanded the consent of Adrian IV. to make a conquest of that kingdom.

This, then, was the slavery, let it not be called religion, which was imposed upon Ireland in the twelfth

century. In the last reign (Henry III.) Pope Alexander IV.* caused Ireland, as well as England, to groan under his exactions. How different is the commission of those ministers whom the Holy Ghost has appointed to be overseers, and to feed the church of Christ, which He hath purchased with his own blood!—Acts xx. 28. The food convenient for them, as St. Peter tells us, is “the sincere milk of his word,” and he adds, “that ye may grow thereby.” But this food the Church of Rome prohibits, as being contrary to the doctrine she inculcates; and this growth she hinders; for if the people grew in knowledge, and if the light of the truth should break in upon them, popery would be unveiled, and utterly forsaken: the church would be fed, not plundered.

The Romanists of Ireland are much indebted to England: but for the English, they never could have obtained footing in the island of saints. Let them rejoice in the obscurity and thralldom of popery, while those who have turned from darkness to light, and from

* In 1229 the Pope demanded the tenths of all moveables, to support him against the Emperor Frederick; which tax the poor Irish could not pay without parting with cadows, aqua vitæ, and also the chalices and altar-cloths.—*History of Ireland, by Richard Cox, Esq.*

1240. Pope Gregory demanded, under pain of excommunication and other ecclesiastical censures, the twentieth part of the whole land, to which was added donations and private gratuities, for carrying on the war against the emperor; by this extortion he levied one thousand five hundred marks or more.—*Cox.*

Such exactions were repeated in 1270 to maintain the wars of the Pope with the King of Arragon. The tithes of all spiritual promotions for three years were required at this time, and greatly murmured at.—*Ware's Annals of Ireland.* Hen. III.

bondage to the glorious liberty of the children of God, must ever bewail the baleful influence of superstition and bigotry. Let those who are taught the better way unite in prayer for the time of deliverance, when Ireland shall throw off her shackles and be converted from a groaning, restless, discontented people, to a people loving, serving, and praising God, in a happy land.

CHAPTER III.

Disturbed State of Ireland—Counties Palatine—Parceners—Irish Chieftains retain their former Possessions—Sir John Wogan, Chief Justice—Strife and Reconciliation between the Earl of Ulster and the Geraldines—Invasion of Edward Bruce—Joined by Irish Chiefs, also some English—Battle near Dundalk—Bruce Killed, and Ireland delivered from the Invaders—Fresh Commotions—Accusations against Dame Alice Ketler—Edward II. deposed—Edward III. ascended the Throne—Feuds in Ireland—Charge of Heresy against De la Poer, &c.—Fitz-Ralph, Archbishop of Armagh—Contempt of Parliament evinced by Lords and Clergy—Assassination of the Earl of Ulster—Hard Frost—Sir Ralph Ufford, Lord-Lieutenant—Feuds between the English by Blood and by Birth—Death of Ufford—The Duke of Clarence, Lord Lieutenant—Statute of Kilkenny—O'Brien's Insurrection—Edmund Mortimer, Lord Lieutenant—Richard II. goes to Ireland, in person, to quell an Insurrection among the Natives—Submission of the Chieftains—Richard's Second Expedition to Ireland—Doctrines of Wickliffe.

INTERNAL dissensions, producing calamitous consequences, fill the pages of Irish history at the time that Edward I. ascended the throne of England : a confused detail of numerous conflicts is presented which could not interest our readers.

1290. The Mac Arthys, of Desmond, formed a systematic opposition to the English government; but all they effected was the removal of some of the lords from their settlements, and the demolition of their castles.

William de Vesey, Earl of Kildare, was made Chief Justice of Ireland. He made vigorous efforts to restore tranquillity; and in gaining some advantages over the turbulent lords, he incurred the hatred of John Fitzgerald, Lord of Ophaly.

1291. Pope Martin granted to Edward I. the tenth part of all ecclesiastical benefices in Ireland for seven years, towards the relief of the Holy Land.*

Henry II., in imitation of the counties palatine of Chester, Durham, and Lancaster, had created three palatinates in Ireland—Leinster, Meath, and Ulster. Each palatinate had its chancery, its writs, courts, seals, judges, officers, and every royal right.

The seigniory of Leinster was divided between the five daughters of William Marshall, to whom it descended in right of inheritance from Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke. The five divisions were the counties of Carlow, the county and town of Wexford, Kildare, territory of Leix (Queen's county). Each of these had a several county palatinate, and all the liberties and prerogatives in the several purparty of each daughter.†

* Camden.

† Daughters inheriting a property are called parceners, and are but as one heir to their ancestor. The sons of such females are also parceners, among whom is the division of the same property.

Although force compelled the Irish to submit to their conquerors, they were not yet a conquered people. The greater number of their former chieftains still retained their possessions; their clans or dependants not acknowledging any other government, were ever ready to oppose and distress the invaders of their lord's territories. The tribes of other districts were often called on to aid in this perpetual hostility. They had also recourse to more distant allies from the highland and western isles of Scotland. In 1273, a large army of Scots landed in Ulster, in order to assist the O'Neills against the English; but they were pursued by Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, in their retreat to their own country: numbers were slain on this occasion, and their lands laid waste.

1294. De Vesey, the lord justice, and John Fitzgerald, Lord of Ophaly, were cited to appear before King Edward, at Westminster, each to answer to the charges of a treasonable tendency, of which they alternately accused each other. Not being able to decide between them, it was proposed that the dispute should be settled by single combat: to avoid this De Vesey fled to France, which in Edward's judgment cast all the obloquy upon himself, and acquitted his opponent, on

If there be neither daughters nor sisters, the nearest of kin, in equal degree, are parceners. If there be but one daughter, or one sister, she shall not be called parcener, but heir.

Purparty, *i. e. proparte*, is that part or share of an estate, first held in common by parceners, which is by partition allotted to any of them. To make purparty is to divide and sever the lands that fall to parceners, which, till partition, they held jointly and *pro indiviso*.

whom the king conferred his manors and lordships of Kildare, Rathangan, &c.

This was a calamitous year in Ireland—war, famine, and pestilence ravaged the country.

1295. The lord chief-justice, Sir John Wogan, used wise and vigorous measures for general improvement. At a parliament convened this year, for the first time, two knights were returned for each of the counties and liberties; several enactments were made to redress grievances: the counties were more regularly divided, and for each a sheriff was appointed.

The lords-marcher, appointed to protect the borders, neglected their charge, and in their absence incursions were made by invaders, who drove out the inhabitants, or reduced them to a state of vassalage. The marchers were enjoined to maintain their necessary ward in future, under pain of forfeiting their lands.*

At this time the bad effects of absenteeism became very serious: a number of landed proprietors fixed their residence in England: unmindful of their Irish tenantry, they made no provision for their safety, which was often endangered. Without arms, without a well-appointed militia, they were frequently surprised in this defenceless state. Hence a new enactment was made for the establishment of a military force, for which purpose absentees were enjoined to devote a competent portion of their Irish revenues.

Another necessary enactment was for the putting an end to the continual warfare carried on by the English

* Leland. Camden.

settlers, as well as by the Irish, who invaded each other's territories—likewise for prohibiting their grievous and arbitrary exactions. From henceforward there was to be no more war without the license of the chief governor, or by special order from the king. It was further enacted that all supernumerary retainers should be dismissed; that is to say, all such as the head of each clan or chieftain could not maintain at his own expense. Each lord was rendered answerable for the depredations of his followers.

Truce-making was an abuse which required forcible measures to counteract. The Irish were in the habit of asking a truce for a time, which, when granted, they generally made an inroad upon their opponents.

In order to escape the penalties of the English laws, many of the settlers had adopted the dress and manners of the Irish, so as to render it difficult to distinguish between them. This, being found a serious evil, was strictly prohibited.

1311. The Earl of Ulster made an inroad upon Thomond, but was bravely opposed by Sir Robert de Clare and the Geraldines; being defeated and made a prisoner, he submitted to such terms as they prescribed. Peace was concluded and ratified by a double alliance; two of the Earl's daughters were married to the Fitz-Geralds—Thomas, afterwards Earl of Kildare, and Maurice, Earl of Desmond.* The celebration of both

* The story of the monkey or ape conveying Thomas, the third Earl of Desmond, to the top of the castle, was the cause of his being surnamed *Nappagh*, (*i. e.* the ape), and from hence it is said, the Earls of Kildare fixed upon a monkey for their crest. The

marriages took place during the month of August, 1312, at Green Castle: the Earl's second daughter was united to Thomas Fitz-John Fitz-Gerald. The extensive ruins of Green Castle, which occupy a rocky ground upon the sea coast, at this day prove the grandeur of the structure. It was strongly fortified by the De Burghs, Earls of Ulster.

Edward's appointment of Piers Gavestone to the government of Ireland had been particularly obnoxious to the proud Earl of Ulster, who could admit of no competitor in the dignity and homage he assumed to himself. The haughty insolence of the king's favorite being disliked by all the lords of the Pale, he was soon recalled.

1314. The defeat of the English at the memorable battle of Bannockburn, revived the strong desire, always indulged by the Irish, to free themselves from a yoke which they deemed intolerable. They made overtures to the King of Scotland, inviting him to come to their relief.

Bruce, having already formed designs upon Ireland, very readily yielded to their wishes, and sent his brother Edward, with an inconsiderable force, to the northern coast, from which he was repelled by the chief governor, Lord Edmund Butler.

During the course of the following year, Edward

fact of the matter is, that *a lion passant* was originally the crest, and *two lions* were the supporters of the house of Kildare, but bad sketching or painting made them appear more like monkeys than lions, and in after times this mistake was perpetuated.—*Irish Antiquarian Research*.

Bruce made another invasion, and landed at Larne, in the county of Antrim, with six thousand men. An engagement took place at Carrickfergus which was fatal to the English; Lord Thomas Mandeville, who commanded the garrison, was slain by a stroke of the battle-axe, and many others shared the same fate.

As Bruce advanced into Ulster, several of the Irish chieftains joined him with all the forces they could muster. O'Neil, of Tyrone, was his most able adviser and confederate. A battle was fought at Coleraine, and Bruce was again victorious. Ulster now became a scene of carnage and devastation; the English were massacred without distinction.

Spenser gives the following epitome of the spoliations of the English Pale in the north, by Edward Bruce:— Their cities were burned, sacked, and razed. Belfast, Greene Castle, Kelles, Belturbet, Castletown, Newton, besides many other good and strong-holds. He took possession of Dundalk, where he proclaimed himself king. After reigning three years, the King of England sent an army against him under the command of Lord John Birmingham, by whom he was defeated. “Also he followed the victory so hotly upon the Scots that he suffered them not to breathe, or gather themselves together again, until they came to the sea-coast. Notwithstanding, all the way that they fled, for very rancour and despite, in their return, they utterly consumed and wasted towns, castles, forts, bridges, and habitations, they left not any stick standing, nor any people remaining. All fled in wild terror from before

them. Thus was all that goodly country wasted: and sure it is yet a most beautiful and sweet country as any is under heaven; being stored throughout with many goodly rivers, replenished with all sorts of fish, most abundantly sprinkled with many very sweet islands and goodly lakes, like little inland seas, that will carry even ships upon their waters; adorned with goodly woods, even fit for building of houses and ships so commodiously, as that, if some princes in the world had them, they would soon hope to be lords of all the seas, and, ere long, of all the world: also full of very good ports and havens, opening upon England, as inviting us to come unto them to see what excellent commodities that country can afford: besides the soil itself most fertile, fit to yield all kind of fruit that shall be committed thereunto. And lastly, the heavens most mild and temperate, though somewhat more moist than the parts towards the west."

The rebellion spread through the kingdom: the Princes of Connaught, Thomond, Munster, Meath, &c., flocked to the standard of the Scotch invader, and were joined by the De Lacys and other base-minded English. The clergy took an active part in support of Bruce, and in exhorting the people to take up arms in his cause, whom they styled the deliverer of their country.

1316. Robert, King of Scotland, brought a strong reinforcement to his brother: after a brave resistance, he took Carrickfergus,* and then returned to Scotland.

* In Camden's *Annals* it is stated, that the garrison at Carrick-

The additional troops left by his brother, together with the number of Irish and disaffected English which had increased the army of Edward, emboldened him to proceed towards the capital. He encamped near Castleknock, and made prisoners of its baron, Lord Hugh Tyrrell, and his lady, who, on paying a ransom, were set at liberty. All this time the English army seem to have suffered his progress with little or no interruption. Camden truly remarks—"Every kingdom divided against itself shall be made desolate:" this was now, and often is the case with Ireland. Rent and torn with numberless divisions: they invited an ally, but found an enemy. Bruce burnt down numerous towns and monasteries, after having rifled them completely. Desolation marked his career, insomuch, that the Irish chieftains became as desirous as the English to drive out this hostile army. When they approached Dublin the citizens set fire to Thomas Street, to stop their progress.

When Bruce, by the resolute conduct of the inhabitants of Dublin, was compelled to retire from the city, he proceeded to Leixlip, which he burned, then marched to Naas, which he plundered. Near Athy he met with Sir Hamon Grace, who gave him battle, but lost his life, with two other leaders, Lord John Bonneville and Sir William Pendergast, and their followers took flight.

fergus was reduced to such extremities, that for want of provisions they were forced to eat hides and leather.

A church filled with men, women, and little children, was burned by the Scots and Irish.

The army of Edward Bruce were rendered ferocious by famine. Many of the soldiers died of starvation.

On the 21st of September Bruce entered Limerick, where he held his court until Easter, and was surrounded by the chieftains of Munster and Connaught. On Thursday during Easter week Roger Mortimer landed at Youghal with an army from England. He was appointed Lord Chief Justice, and on the following Monday went to meet the forces of the late justice, Lord Edmund Butler, thirty thousand strong. Bruce not choosing to hazard a rencontre, retreated by night towards Kildare.*

1317. Messengers were dispatched from Dublin to the King of England to be advertised of his royal pleasure concerning the state of Ireland and the disposal of the Earl of Ulster, who had the year before been imprisoned by Robert Nottingham, Mayor of Dublin, in the castle of Dublin, from the suspicion of his having favoured Bruce, with whom he had entered into a family alliance, by marrying his sister to Robert, King of Scotland, and from his failure in any vigorous measures to repress the incursion of Edward in Ulster.

Bruce halted in a wood near Trim, for a week, to refresh his men, many of whom miserably died there of hunger and weariness. With the remnant he went on to Ulster.

There was a grievous famine all over Ireland, inso-much, that human flesh was devoured.

A parliament was held in Dublin, and the Earl of Ulster was liberated, on his solemn engagement that

* Camden.

the citizens of Dublin should suffer no harm on account of his detention,—soon after he received the king's pardon from England. The Lacys were still under condemnation, and contemptuously refused to meet the chief justice, either at Tredagh or Trim, and afterwards, when Sir Hugh Croft was sent to them with overtures of peace, they treacherously slew him: thus provoking the indignation of the governor, who came against this unworthy race with an army, and seizing on their property, cattle, and treasure, with the destruction of many of their people, drove them into Connaught: it was said that Walter Lacy fled to Ulster and joined Edward Bruce.

Camden states that Lord Roger Mortimer, with his army, marched to Tredagh (Drogheda), near to which the men of Ulster had taken their booty, which was soon retaken by the men of Tredagh. After some conflicts with the Irish, in which they were worsted, the lord justice returned to Dublin Castle, with his army.

1318. The King of England sent for Lord Roger Mortimer, who instituted Lord William, Archbishop of Cashel, the guardian of Ireland during his absence. For the time being, he was Lord Justice of Ireland, Lord Chancellor, and Archbishop.*

* The prelates of these times exercised towards each other a domineering and very unbecoming spirit. For three or four centuries there was a rivalry between the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, as to the right of each bearing his cross erect in the province of the other. In 1311, John Lech, Archbishop of Dublin, forbade the primate, Walter Jorse, to appear in the province of Dublin with that emblem of metropolitan dignity. The primate declined the contest; but after his death, his brother, Robert Jorse, who succeeded him, continued it: and having arrived at

This autumn the mercy of God appeared in a plentiful harvest, after great scarcity, and in their deliverance from the fatal inroads of Edward Bruce; who, at length, encountered the English army within two leagues of Dundalk, where a famous battle was fought at the hill of Faughard (*i. e.* Fought-hard). King Robert came too late to assist his brother: he found only his headless body, and a remnant of his scattered troops. Lord John Birmingham brought the head of Bruce to the King of England, who rewarded him with the earldom of Louth, to him and his heirs male.*

Ireland did not, for many subsequent years, recover the effects of this invasion, which brought no glory to the Scots. A bull of excommunication, from the Pope, was fulminated in every mass, against Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, in 1319.

This year Lord Roger Mortimer returned to Ireland, and resumed his office of Chief Justice.

The Irish were delivered from their neighbours, but not from internal foes. Fresh insurrections broke out. Maurice Fitz-Gerald threw off his allegiance to England, and taking upon himself sovereign authority, he compelled the English settlers in Cork, Waterford, Limerick, and Kerry, to abandon their possessions. By these means he enriched himself and provided for his fol-

Howth the day after the Annunciation, in 1313, he arose in the night-time, and stealthily erecting his cross, carried it in that position as far as the Priory of Grace-Dieu, within the province of Dublin, where, being met by some of the Archbishop's family, they beat down his cross, and drove him in confusion out of Leinster.—*Ware's Bishops.* Pp. 74, 75.

* Camden.

lowers. Making himself very Irish, he revived the barbarous law of *coyne* and *livery*.

1320. Alexander, Archbishop of Dublin, commenced the erection of a university.*

Thomas Fitz-John, Earl of Kildare, was appointed Chief Justice of Ireland. He was removed in the ensuing year, and John Birmingham, Earl of Louth, supplied his place.

1325. Richard Ledred, Bishop of Ossory, cited Dame Alice Ketler, of Kilkenny, to appear before him, and answer to the charge brought against her of heresy and witchcraft: her son William was involved in it, with two other accomplices. She was accused of intercourse with an evil spirit, named Robyn Artysson, and of having made him an offering of nine red cocks and nine peacock's eyes, at a stone bridge, where was a cross-way of four roads. Also, that she had swept the streets of Kilkenny with besoms, between complin and curfew, in the night, toward the house of her son William, muttering the following words of incantation,—

“Unto the house of William my sonne,
Hie all the wealth of Kilkenny towne.”

Upon examination, other particulars were laid to her charge, namely, that a wafer-cake was found in her possession with the name of Satan stamped upon it; and a box of ointment, which she rubbed over a stick called a coultree, which being thus anointed, was prepared for her to ride through thick and thin all the world over, with her accomplices; and not only so, this enchanted

* Camden.

wood had power to waft her merrily through the air, without let or hinderance.*

These imputations the vindictive bishop pretended he could substantiate, and also that William her son wore Satan's girdle next his loins. One of Alice's maids, named Petronilla, was burned as an accomplice at Kilkenny: the other, Basilia, found means to escape with her mistress. The wicked bishop caused her son William to be imprisoned in the castle of Kilkenny, and had Alice cited again to appear before the Dean of St. Patrick's, who, having made her appearance, craved a day to prepare her vindication, which being granted, she withdrew, and was heard of no more: it is supposed she was concealed in some farm-house or village until she escaped to England. The son of dame Alice was liberated by Arnold Poer, seneschal of the county of Kilkenny, after nine weeks imprisonment, where, by the bishop's decree, he had two keepers, strictly prohibited from speaking to him more than once a day, or to eat or drink with him. Arnold Poer brought about the imprisonment of the bishop, who was kept three months in durance.

1326. Edward, King of England, embarked for Ireland, where he hoped to screen himself from his enemies. He set sail in a small vessel which was driven back by contrary winds, and he was under the necessity of landing on the coast of Wales.

1327. Edward III. issued his royal mandate to the turbulent factions which agitated Ireland, to lay down

* Camden.

their arms. A little spark had kindled a great flame. John de la Poer had provoked the ire of Maurice, of Desmond, by calling him the *rhymer* or *poet*. Nothing less than fire and carnage could expiate this unpardonable offence. Butler and Birmingham took up the quarrel of the earl, and with their united forces, marched into Ossory and Munster, devastating the lands of De la Poer, and destroying his manor houses with fire and sword, himself hardly escaping with his life to England. The King's authority produced the form of a reconciliation.

1328. Great commotions this year. O'Brian, of Thomond, led on the Irish rebels in their desperate warfare. They burned the town of Tipperary, slew Lord Thomas Butler, and many of his adherents, near Mullingar. The Earl of Louth also, with several of his family and soldiers, fell a sacrifice to their rage.

James Butler* had been created Earl of Tipperary, and afterwards of Ormond: he led out an army against the rebels, but required a superior force to suppress them.

* The habitation of the Earls of Ormond was built upon a rock, from whence the title of the Earl of Carrick is derived, which title Edward II. conferred upon Edmund Boteler, or Butler. They were closely allied to Thomas à Becket, after whose assassination Henry II. removed them to Ireland, hoping to elude the world's hatred for that foul deed by advancing the kindred of the archbishop to honours and rich revenues. The first Earl of Ormond was James, the son of Edmund, Earl of Carrick, who being allied by marriage to King Edward I. was called the noble earl. His title is taken from the northern district of Munster called Ormondia, or Ormond, which title, "with the royalty and other liberties, and knight's fees in the county of Tipperary," he received from King Edward III. for himself and heirs. He has also been styled Earl of Tipperary.—*Camden*.

Maurice, of Desmond, had now become the most powerful chieftain in Ireland, and was treated, even by the viceroy, as an independant sovereign. He could levy an army of ten thousand men. As a means of binding him to the crown, the king granted him royal palatine liberties. The Earl of Ormond had the same, as well as the other lords of the palatines, each of whom exercised the authority of independant sovereigns. The power of these Anglo-Irish nobles would have been nearly irresistible, but for their divisions. The Earls of Desmond and Ulster were at open warfare with each other, and made no effort to quell the Munster insurgents.

1330. A charge of heresy was brought against Arnold de la Poer, by the Bishop of Ossory, in revenge for his three months imprisonment: and because De la Poer had interested himself in favour of Dame Alice Ketler, her son, and other persons, who had been condemned to the flames for heresy. De la Poer, appealed to the lord deputy, but that did not save him from being arrested and confined in the castle of Dublin. The chief governor himself was involved in the same charge, and the king's council, being at a loss how to decide the cause, allowed Poer to remain in prison until the meeting of parliament, when all the nobility of Ireland were assembled. Roger Outlaw, the Prior of Kilmainham, was Lord Chief Justice and Chancellor of Ireland. The Bishop of Ossory not only accused him of heresy but of being the abettor and councillor of De la Poer. Having appealed to the King's council against the defamers of his character,

desiring to see his accusers face to face, a general citation was issued, and the bishops, abbots, mayors, &c., &c. of the five principal towns of Ireland, (*i. e.* Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Waterford, and Tredagh), assembled at Dublin, in order to make a strict investigation, by which the lord justice was fully acquitted; but although he made it appear that the accuser of the lord Arnold De la Poer was actuated by personal enmity, he had no power to procure his release from the dungeon in which he perished.* Very different from the character of this vindictive prelate was his contemporary Richard Fitz-Ralph, frequently called Richard Armachanus, said to have been born in Dundalk, but in what year it is not exactly known; there are, however, accurate notes of his various appointments. According to Le Neve's "Fasti," he was collated Chancellor of Lincoln, on the 10th of July, 1334. On the 8th of July, 1347, he was advanced to the see of Armagh, by Clement VI. He preceded Wickliffe, and may be regarded as the Wickliffe of Ireland. The conduct of the Mendicant friars had been the cause of great discontent and controversy, into which Fitz-Ralph vigorously entered; he had been educated at Oxford, where the dispute was carried on under Baconthorpe, a doctor of the Sorbonne. In 1356, Fitz-Ralph, being in London, was earnestly solicited to preach against the abuses of the Mendicant friars: he did so, in seven or eight sermons, which he afterwards preached at Litchfield; and again in Ireland, at Drogheda, Dundalk, and

* Camden.

Trim. The positions contained in these discourses offended the Franciscans or Minoritis, and also the order of the Predicants, then established at Armagh. The warden cited the primate to answer for himself before the Pope at Avignon. The character of Clement was, that he “defended the interests of the church with a zeal carried to excess: reserving to himself a multitude of benefices, which he presented, at his will, in defiance of all former elections.” *

Thus the friars were emboldened to the measure they had taken; but happily for Fitz-Ralph, Clement died in 1352, and was succeeded by Innocent VI., who encouraged men of literature, and obliged those who held benefices to residence.

In 1353, Innocent had decided that the Archbishop of Armagh “should entitle himself Primate of *all* Ireland, and the Archbishop of Dublin write himself Primate of Ireland.” In 1357, Fitz-Ralph appeared at Avignon and pleaded his cause before the Pope and cardinals. He repeated his charges against the “begging friars,” whose persevering extortions were without bounds. He was examined by four cardinals a tedious time: and never returned to Ireland. He died at Avignon on the 16th of November, 1360. It is hinted in the MS. annals in the Cottonian library, that he was poisoned by the friars; of this, however, there is no certain proof.

One of the cardinals, on hearing of the death of Fitz-Ralph, openly protested (Fox says), “that the same

* L’Advocat, the Librarian of the Sorbonne.

day a mighty pillar of Christ's church was fallen." Ten years after his decease his body was removed to Dundalk, by Stephen de Valle, Bishop of Meath, and a monument raised over it, which remained still, as says Sir Thomas Ryves, in 1624.

The works of Fitz-Ralph were various : several of them are mentioned by L'Advocat, the librarian and Orleans Professor in the Sorbonne; after which he adds, "these works prove their author to have thoroughly studied the Holy Scriptures, and his reasoning is very ingenious and forcible, but not entirely free from the errors which were afterwards revived by Wickliffe." *

It is remarkable that in the very same year that Fitz-Ralph died at Avignon, Wickliffe, at the age of thirty-six, quitted his retired life. In writing his "Trialogus," he speaks of Fitz-Ralph as having preceded him, in terms of high commendation.

He wrote a history of his own life, in which he records in what way "the Lord taught him, and brought him out of the profound vanities of Aristotle's philosophy, to the study of the Scriptures of God." The following quotation is taken from the commencement of this piece:—"To thee be praise, to thee be glory, to thee be thanksgiving, O Jesus most holy, Jesus most powerful, Jesus most amiable,—who hast said, 'I am the way, the truth, and the life'—a way without deviation, truth without a cloud, and life without

* L'Advocat's *Historical and Biographical Dictionary*, under "Richard of Armagh."

end; for thou the way hast shown me, thou the truth hast taught me, and thou the life hast promised me; a way thou wast to me in exile, the truth thou wast to me in counsel, and life thou wilt be to me in reward."

Fitz-Ralph possessed a translation of the New Testament in the Irish language, ascribed to himself. Archbishop Usher* quotes the information given by Balæus,† that this translation, or a copy of it, was concealed by him in a certain wall of his church, with the following note:—"When this book is found, truth will be revealed to the world, or Christ will shortly appear." In the year 1530, one hundred and seventy years after the death of Fitz-Ralph, the church at Armagh being under repair, the book was found, though no vestige of it is supposed to be in existence at present.

Fox, in his "Acts and Monuments," says, "I credibly hear of certain old Irish Bibles, translated long since into the Irish tongue, which, if it be true, it is not other like but to be the doing of this Armachanus,"—referring to Fitz-Ralph:—this was about the year 1573.

1331. Sir Anthony Lucy, and William de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, were appointed Lords Justices. The former, as chief governor, summoned a parliament to meet at Kilkenny: but Desmond, De Burgo, Mandeville, Sir William and Walter Birmingham, refused to attend. Another parliament was summoned in Dublin,

* Usher's *Historia Dogmatâ*, p. 196.

† Balæus *Script. Brit.*, Art. 14, p. 246.

which met with the same inattention. The chief governor being determined to resent this conduct, as derogatory to the authority of the king, ordered them to be arrested. Sir William and Walter Birmingham, had been accused of aiding and abetting the rebellious Irish: the former was found guilty and condemned to death. Camden says, "he was hanged in Dublin, on the 11th of July, to the grief of many, by whom he was esteemed a noble and valiant knight." His son Walter was acquitted.

Spencer says, "King Edward III. being greatly crossed and bearded by the lords of the clergy in Ireland, they being there, by reason of their lords abbots, and others, too many for him, so that for their frowardness he could not order and reform things as he desired, was advised to direct out his writs to certain gentlemen of the best abilities and trust, entitling them therein, barons, to sit and serve as barons in the next parliament, that he was able to weigh down the clergy and their friends." By this means the king obtained a vote that a subsidy should be levied, including the church lands with those of the laity; but the Archbishop of Cashel resented it by publicly pronouncing "an excommunication upon the king's commissioner of revenue, and upon all others who should procure, pay, or in any other manner contribute to, the levying of the subsidy from lands or pensions belonging to the church;" and, ultimately, he obtained the victory,

1334. Sir John Darcy was chief justice, and Thomas de Burgh deputy. Some effectual efforts were made at this time to allay the tumults of the people.

The young Earl of Ulster was assassinated by his English attendants, near Carrickfergus, on the 6th of June. He left a widow and infant daughter, who arrived safely in England. The law would have vested the immense possessions of the young heiress in the hands of the king during her minority, but there was no military force to protect them from the sept of O'Neil, in Ulster, who claimed and parcelled them out amongst themselves. The late earl's lands in Connaught were, in like manner, seized by some younger branches of the De Burghs: who, renouncing their country, with its laws and customs, assumed those of Ireland; and, in dividing the lands between them, styled themselves, "Mac William *Eighter*," and "Mac William *Oughter*:" which terms signify the *Farther* and *Nether*.

1338. The Liffey, in Dublin, was frozen so intensely, that fires of wood and turf were kindled on the solid ice; the people broiled their herrings on the fires, and recreated themselves with many sports upon the ice: such a severe frost was unknown before in Ireland; it lasted for several weeks.*

1344. Sir Ralph Ufford, who had married the widowed Countess of Ulster, was appointed Lord Justice of Ireland. He used vigorous measures for the pacification of the country, which was terribly agitated, particularly by feuds between the old English settlers and the more recent colonists: the first were called English by blood, though born in Ireland; the last

* Camden.

were called English by birth. The governor on finding the Earl of Desmond, who was at the head of the first faction, quite unmanageable, caused him to be arrested. The Earl of Kildare was also imprisoned; and many who refused to comply with the laws of England were executed.

In the midst of these decided efforts to subdue the turbulent spirit which caused great disorder, death suddenly seized upon Ufford. Upon this event Camden thus expresses himself:—"At whose death the common sort truly and heartily praised the only Son of God." "Being dead, he was folded fast in a sheet in a coffin of lead to be interred in England, and with his treasure (not worthy to be bestowed with such holy relics), his countess, in horrible grief of heart, went over to England; and she, who at her coming had entered the city of Dublin so gloriously with the king's arms and ensigns, attended by a numerous guard of soldiers, and a long train in her procession through the streets; for a short period living in royal state as Queen of Ireland, was now, at her going forth from the same city, obliged to pass stealthily through a postern gate of the castle to avoid the clamour of the common people calling upon her to discharge debts. Thus she departed, in disgrace, from Dublin, on the 2nd of May, 1346, and retired to her own country."

After the death of Ufford, Maurice Fitz-Thomas, Earl of Desmond, determined on presenting himself before the king to represent the wrongs he had sustained from the late governor. Edward received him graciously, not only promising to restore his posses-

sions, but granting him a present supply for his daily expenditure.

The Earl of Kildare, who had also been released from prison, followed Desmond's example, and they both attended the king to France, where they distinguished themselves at the siege of Calais, for which service Kildare was rewarded with the honour of knighthood.

1350. The Earl of Desmond was Lord Justice. He began well, but scarcely survived the first year of his appointment. Sir Thomas Rokeby had preceded him, and now succeeded him, no other man being found so competent to govern with justice and moderation. A saying of his is worthy to be recorded: "My fare is simply served up; but I had rather drink out of wood and pay gold and silver, than drink out of gold and silver cups and make wooden payments."

But still no measures had been found efficient to procure rest for unhappy Ireland, which, in ages past and present, continued to be a prey to civil war.

Edward having successfully terminated his contest in France, turned his thoughts to this part of his dominion. His second son, Lionel, Duke of Clarence, had married the heiress of the murdered Earl of Ulster, all of whose vast possessions in Ulster and Connaught ought to have been her rich dowry; but they were now in other hands, and required many battles and bloodshed to procure their restitution.

1361. The Duke of Clarence was made Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland for life, with extraordinary powers, and a military force sufficient to quell the prevailing spirit of insurrection. He landed 22nd April, with the

Earls of Stafford and Ormond, Sir John Carew, and Sir William Windsore. At the very commencement he acted unwisely, in prohibiting the old English settlers from approaching his camp; none but the English by birth had this liberty. Had he sought the confidence and guidance of the former, there would have been more probability of success. After several successive defeats he discovered his mistake, and invited those whom he had at first rejected to join his standard; they complied, and by their means he gained some advantages.

He conferred the honour of knighthood on Robert Preston (Viscount Gormanston), also on Robert Holivood, Thomas Talbot, Walter Cusack, James De la Hide, and Robert Ashe, or De Fraximus, besides many others, for good services;* and returned to England in 1364, leaving Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormond, deputy.

The Duke of Clarence, neither studying nor knowing the true Irish character, treated them as his predecessors had done—as a barbarous, irreclaimable people—to be kept aloof from their conquerors. Having resumed the government in 1367, he summoned a parliament at Kilkenny, which was attended by a respectable body, and after mature deliberation, the acts which passed formed the famous *statute of Kilkenny*.

Its specific object was to restrain the degeneracy of the English settlers, but its tendency was to rivet the animosity of the native Irish to their conquerors by a stronger chain than had even yet subsisted.

* Camden.

By this statute it was decreed "that no alliance of marriage, gossipred,* fostering of children, nor any other manner of such union, be henceforth made between the English and Irish, of one part or of the other part; and that no Englishman nor other person do give or sell to any Irishman in time of peace, horses or armour, nor any manner of victuals in time of war; and if any shall do to the contrary, and thereof be attainted, he shall have judgment of life and member, as a traitor to our lord the king.

"If any man of English race should use the Irish

* Fosterage and gossipred formed a strong bond of union among the Irish. The first connection was made by the chieftain's children being nursed, from their birth, by their dependants in their cottages, and reared with their own little ones, as one family: hence, the young earl was devoted to his foster-brothers and sisters, and they to him. Stanihurst says, "You cannot find one instance of perfidy, deceit, or treachery among the fosterers; nay, they are ready to expose themselves to all manner of dangers for the safety of those who drew the same nourishment from the same bosom. You may beat them to a mummy—you may put them to the rack—you may burn them upon a gridiron—the most exquisite torture that cruelty can devise cannot turn them from that innate fidelity which is rooted in their heart. No power can induce them to betray a foster-brother or child." Sir John Davies mentions fosterage as being considered a much more firm alliance than that of blood. The foster-children were not so much beloved of their parents, as they were of their nurse, foster-father, and foster-brothers. Spencer gives a strong though disgusting instance of this, which shall be related hereafter. Gossipred was also a strong link of relationship: it was a spiritual affinity, acknowledged by the canon law. The sponsors of the child were called gossips, or godsips. By such ties the clans were united in a combination to support each other in every conflict and danger. These were the "claims of kindred and bond of feudal clanship." Giraldus Cambrensis says, "When the Irish be bad, you shall nowhere meet with worse; if they be good, you can scarcely find better."

dress or language, or take an Irish name, or observe any rule or custom of the Irish, he was to forfeit lands and tenements, until he had given, in the Court of Chancery, that he would conform in every particular to the English manners.

“It was made highly penal to present a mere Irishman to an ecclesiastical benefice, or receive him into a monastery, or other religious house; to entertain an Irish bard, minstrel, or story-teller; or to admit an *Irish horse* to graze on the pasture of an Englishman.”

After the Duke of Clarence was recalled, all Ulster revolted, and made O’Neil their captain, who before time was little accounted of.

In Thomond one of the O’Briens, called Murroghen-Ranagh, signifying Morris of the Fern, that is, of the waste wild places, collected together as many of the discontented Irish as he could; and having surprised the castle of Clare, he made spoil and devastation of the English settlements. In a short space of time he possessed himself of all the lands beyond and adjoining the Shannon: like a mighty tempest he rushed through Munster and Connaught, breaking down the strongholds and fortresses of the English; all the corporate towns fell before him, if not very strongly fortified. He had no engines to break down walls, and if he had, the delay would have baffled his designs: speed and suddenness were the advantages he reckoned upon, that the English might have no time for preparations.

The towns of Inchequin, of Killaloo, Thurles, Mourne, Buttevant, he destroyed down to the ground, and others whose memory is perished. The fame of his

exploits brought the mere dregs of the Irish out of all places flocking to him; they marched into Leinster, carrying on like depredations. It being his policy to leave no hold behind him, wherever he appeared he left all levelled and wasted; and at last, Spencer says, he called himself King of all Ireland.

1374. Sir William de Windsore was a second time sent to govern Ireland, but he disappointed the expectations of those who hoped from him a better arrangement of affairs. The Earl of Kildare succeeded him, and afterwards James Butler, Earl of Ormond. A number of lords justices came and went, without leaving any record of real utility to Ireland.

1379. Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland: he had married Philippa,* the only daughter of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, and had a son named Roger, who succeeded him in his titles and estates.

The Earl of March laid on a tax of two-thirds of the income of absentees; this had become a spreading evil; the nobility and gentry had flocked to England. Large revenues raised in Ireland and expended out of it, drained the country of its resources.

During this administration Richard II. granted permission to his Irish subjects to carry on a free trade with Portugal; to explore their mines, and to coin money.

There was an invasion of French and Spaniards on the coast of Ireland: they were bravely opposed by the

* Rapin.

natives in the harbour of Kinsale, where they lost several of their ships.

1382. Death put an end to the useful exertions of Edmund Mortimer. The king sent a relative of his own, Philip de Courtney, to supply his place: he gave great displeasure to the Irish, and was charged with oppression, extortion, and injustice. Hence he was disgraced and recalled.

The government of Ireland was now conferred on the young king's favourite, Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, with the additional titles of Marquis of Dublin and Duke of Ireland: his pride and pomp rendered him obnoxious to all parties, and he was recalled, under the stigma of having forfeited all his grants, his dignity, and power, which reverted to the king. Richard had made him a grant of the country, "to be held in liege homage of him and his heirs."

1385. Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, was declared, in parliament, presumptive heir to the crown of England, in case of the death of Richard without issue: Mortimer being the grandson of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, the second son of Edward III.*

1393. In the beginning of this year the English settlers in Ireland sent deputies to London, imploring assistance against the natives. They were at this time making a vigorous struggle to disencumber themselves from the English yoke,—and Richard, too much addicted to pleasure, had supinely neglected this part of his dominions. The prospect of losing it roused him

* His grandmother was heiress to the Earl of Ulster.

from his apathy. The Duke of Gloucester offered his services in suppressing the rebels, but the king resolved on taking this expedition upon himself, and called a parliament, in order to raise subsidies answerable to the expense of such an undertaking; a large sum was granted, and in September* he landed at Waterford with four thousand men-at-arms, and thirty thousand archers, commanded by the Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of Nottingham and Rutland, Thomas, Lord Percy, and other distinguished commanders. The report of such a force actually in their country, spread terror and dismay; the rebels in Leinster fled for shelter to their mountain fastnesses, and ventured forth only when an opportunity offered of attacking a detached party on its march. Richard gained an almost bloodless victory—we do not hear of an engagement. The chieftains, instead of offering resistance, made submission to the king, unarmed; on bended knees; their heads uncovered; their girdles unfastened:—not all in a body, but in the different provinces where the king's commissioners received them. Richard met the chiefs of Ulster at Drogheda. O'Neil, acknowledging himself the king's liegeman, imputed all his misdemeanours to the English governors—whose aggravated injustice, he said, had incited him to rebel. The king heard all he had to say, graciously, and received the four principal chieftains, O'Neil, O'Brien, O'Connor, and Mac Murchard, into his especial favour. On the submission of the chieftains, the lord marshal gave to each the kiss of

* Rapin.

peace, and they entered into a treaty to relinquish the lands they held in Leinster, on condition of their receiving a pension from the crown, and permission to take from the king's enemies all such territories as they could forcibly possess themselves of in other provinces of Ireland.

Richard, fancying that he had completely subdued the whole island, was elated beyond measure, and to make the greater display, sent to England for all the crown-jewels. He assembled the chieftains at Dublin, where he held his court with pomp and magnificence, and treated the Irish lords with great condescension. Wishing to confer the honour of knighthood on the four chiefs, he directed the interpreters to make this known to them: but such a dignity being beyond their comprehension, they rather declined it, saying, they were all knights already, and that every Irish king's son was knighted at seven years old. They described the ceremony as being held in a plain. The young candidates, with slender lances, ran against a shield which was fastened to a stake, and the boy who broke the most spears acquired this dignity. The English courtiers, after having applauded such proofs of early prowess, explained to the chiefs what the order of knighthood is in the great and renowned states of Europe, and how solemn the ceremony: upon which these four great men of Ireland condescended to accept the honour.

The installation took place in the cathedral of Dublin, and O'Neil, O'Connor, O'Brien, Mac Murchard, and some others, received knighthood: after which a mag-

nificent feast was prepared for them, and the four Irish princes, in robes of state, sat at the king's table. On this occasion they had been induced to lay aside the great Irish mantle, and substitute a silken robe, trimmed with fur, &c. The king took much pains to reconcile them to English manners and customs.* They were lodged in a handsome house, and for some days followed their own practice; their minstrels and upper servants sat beside them, eating off the same plate, and drinking of the same cup. Their rule was to have all things in common: but they were now taught a different lesson,—and at first, very unwillingly conformed to the English manners. They now learned to use saddles and stirrups when on horseback, which they had never done before.

Instead of any measure effectively useful for Ireland, Richard contented himself with a vain display of

* These chieftains Richard committed to the care of an English gentleman named Henry Castide, who also served as interpreter: having lived some years among the Irish, he had acquired a thorough knowledge of their language and manner of life. He gives the following account of an adventure he met with in a skirmish with the Irish.—“It chanced that in this pursuit, my horse took fright and ran away with me, in spite of all my efforts, into the midst of the enemy. My friends could never overtake me:—and in passing through the Irish, one of them, by a great feat of agility, leaped on the back of my horse, and held me tight with both his arms, but did me no harm with lance or knife. . He seemed much rejoiced to have made me his prisoner, and carried me to his house, which was strong, and in a town surrounded with wood, palisades, and stagnant water. The gentleman who had taken me was called Brian Costeret, a very handsome man. I have frequently made inquiries after him, and hear that he is still alive, but very old. This Brian Costeret kept me with him seven years, and gave me his daughter in marriage, by whom I have two girls.”—*Froissart (translation)*.

sovereign power and royalty. After having past nine inactive months, his return to England was solicited by the Archbishop of York and Bishop of London, who were deputed to represent to him, in person, the danger to which the church was exposed through the increasing influence of the Lollards. The late queen-mother was friendly towards them, and had she lived, would have saved them from many calamities, for they were the followers of Wickliffe of whose doctrines she approved.*

1395. Richard, under the vain persuasion that he had established peace throughout the country, took his departure, after having appointed Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, Governor of Ireland. He was immediately called to arms to repel O'Brien in Munster, and he had scarcely quelled that insurrection, when another, more formidable, required his exertions.

By their treaty with Richard, the Irish had given up Leinster, and were bound to evacuate that province—but the land of their fore-fathers, the home of their hearts, could not be easily forsaken—the long-lingering look roused a determination to fight for their tenements when the requisitions of government peremptorily demanded the abandonment of them.

1398. These were the first movements of a general rebellion; and the English lords, in their several districts, were obliged to take up arms against their invaders. The Birminghams and De Burgos gained some advantages in repelling the insurgents on their own territories.

* Rapin.

The governor also, and the Earl of Ormond, were successful in driving the O'Byrnes from Wicklow; but afterwards, Roger Mortimer was slain in a contest with the O'Tooles; which sept formed a numerous body of the insurgents, and had previously obtained a victory over the king's troops, whom they had slaughtered without mercy. It will be remembered, that by an act of parliament, Roger Mortimer, Earl of March and Ulster, was declared heir apparent. He left two sons, Edmund and Roger; the first succeeded him in his titles and possessions, but both died childless. Anne, their sister, married the second son of the Duke of York, which caused much trouble to the kingdom for many years.*

When Richard heard of this second revolution in Ireland he could not contain his wrath, "that such a pitiful and wretched people should dare to contemn his power," and he resolved in person to chastise them. For this purpose, he again levied a strong force, and exacted large sums from his dissatisfied subjects, whose aversion increased with his demands.

1399. On the last day of May Richard landed at Waterford and from thence marched to Dublin; he had taken with him his most precious jewels, and as hostages, the sons of the Dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester. During his absence, he had appointed the Duke of York, his uncle, to the regency of the kingdom, which he seemed to have left with a presentiment that he should return no more to his palace and regal authority.

* Rapin.

An army of twenty thousand men again made a formidable appearance before the scanty forces of the Irish. Mac Murchard was the first who thought of opposing the king, but the army drawn up in array put him and his followers to flight; yet they contrived to harass the English troops without hazarding a general engagement. In Rapin's history it is stated, that in several encounters Richard gave proofs of valour, which testified that want of courage was not among the number of his defects. He had acted weakly in removing his forces from England to Ireland at a time when the hatred of his subjects had risen to the highest pitch. No sooner had he quitted his own shores, than the great body of the disaffected began to devise means to dethrone him; and while this work was progressing, Richard remained for six weeks in Dublin, in fatal security; during the last three weeks, contrary and tempestuous gales precluded all tidings from England. At length the sad intelligence arrived: his affairs in England were desperate.

Before we take leave of the fourteenth century, a glance at our first Reformer will be interesting, though not properly belonging to Irish history.

Hume gives a summary of Wickliffe's doctrines. He maintained that the scripture was the sole rule of faith; that the church was dependant on the state, and should be reformed by it; that the clergy ought to possess no estates; that the begging friars were a general nuisance, and ought not to be supported; that the numerous ceremonies of the church were hurtful to true religion; that oaths were unlawful; that dominion

was founded in grace; and that all things are subject to pre-ordination. At the time that these doctrines were broached, the authority of the ecclesiastics had sensibly fallen off. The usurpations of the court of Rome and of their own clergy disgusted the laity, and strong symptoms, from time to time, appeared, of a restless desire to shake off the superstitious bondage of Romanism.

Wickliffe and his followers were distinguished by a remarkable austerity of life and manners. After his death, his opinions spread over a wide circle, and some monkish writers represent half the kingdom as infected by them: and from Oxford they were carried to Bohemia. But the time of their adoption was not yet—this was the dawn that preceded that greater and more enduring light.

John Wickliffe has been styled “the glory of our nation, and the honour of Oxford; the first discoverer and guide in our blessed Reformation.” He was first admitted commoner of Queen’s College; but, soon after, removed to Merton, one of the most famous seminaries in Europe for learning, where he was introduced to some of the greatest and most learned men of his day.

He was opposed to the Mendicant friars.

Wickliffe’s defence of the University of Oxford, against the encroachments of the Mendicant friars, first brought him into public notice. He composed several spiritual treatises “Against Able Beggary; Against Idle Beggary,” and on the “Poverty of Christ.” The distinguishing tenet of his religion, was the election of grace. He calls the church an assembly of predestinated persons.

To those who affirmed that God did not do every thing for them, but their own merits in part contributed to salvation, he answered with a short prayer; "Heal us gratis, O Lord."

Milner, in his "Church History," gives several extracts from the writings of Wickliffe, which prove his doctrines to have been purely apostolical. In the year 1387, he died peaceably, at Lutterworth, of palsy.

In 1406, a testimonial was publicly given by the university of Oxford, which declares, "that all his conduct through life was sincere and commendable; that his conversation, from his youth upward to the time of his death, was so praiseworthy and honest, that never, at any time, was there a particle of suspicion raised against him; and that by force of the scriptures he vanquished all such as slandered the religion of Christ. God forbid that our prelates should condemn as a heretic a man who has written better than any other in the university, on logic, philosophy, divinity, morality, and the speculative arts.*"

"His labours, indeed, appear to have been immense; and, beyond all doubt, he was, in that dark age, a prodigy of knowledge." Yet, in the year 1410, his works were condemned to the flames, at Oxford, by order of Subinco, Archbishop of Prague. About two hundred volumes were burned; and by order of the Council of Constance, in 1428, his remains were disinterred, and burned, and the ashes thrown into the river Swift, which flows by Lutterworth, for having translated the holy

* Milner. Fox.

scriptures into the English language, and for maintaining the authority of those scriptures, and their sufficiency for saving instruction. The other memorials of this great Reformer are deservedly cherished; but assuredly no mark of reverence can be more appropriate than that of acting on the main sentiment by which he was distinguished, and which was fully recognised in this country, two centuries after his death, as the great principle of the Reformation. "The enemies of Wickliffe," says Fuller, "thought that by burning his bones, and scattering them in the Swift, they should destroy his name and doctrine. But no! the Swift carried them into the Avon, the Avon into the Severn, the Severn into the ocean, and the ocean round the world!"

There are very few names of men eminent for piety and learning to be found on the records of the fourteenth century. Wickliffe stood pre-eminent on the list, nearly a solitary instance, for there were none who could compete with him. We have already mentioned an Irishman, who, as well as he, was opposed to the Mendicant friars. Richard Fitz-Ralph, Archbishop of Armagh, preached a course of sermons at London, wherein he strenuously maintained his opinions, especially in opposition to the Mendicant friars. "Jesus Christ," he said, "was poor whilst upon earth, yet he never affected poverty: he made no profession of voluntary poverty: he neither begged himself, nor taught the people to make beggary their profession. Quite contrary was this to his doctrine, and also to religion and common sense." This attack upon the

Mendicants was touching them in the most sensible part. By their voluntary poverty they had gained and preserved their influence over the people; therefore they laid an accusation against the prelate before the Pope, who cited the archbishop to answer, in person, to the things which were brought to his charge: accordingly he made his appearance, and with all boldness advanced that which he had heretofore declared; but his death put an end to the controversy before it was decided: this event took place at Avignon in 1360. He (Fitz-Ralph) translated the Bible into English, besides writing some clever treatises. A contemporary of his, John de Trevisa, a Cornish man, was of one mind with the Archbishop of Armagh. He also made a translation of the Bible, and "maintained that Jesus Christ sent Apostles, but never Mendicant friars, to preach the Gospel."

We shall close this subject with the form of absolution from the apostolic see, taken from "Walsingham's His. Anglo," p. 295.—"By authority apostolical, committed to me for this purpose, I absolve thee, A. B., from all thy sins *confessed*, and for which thou art contrite, and from all those which thou wouldst confess, did they occur to thy memory, and grant thee, with a full pardon of all thy sins, the reward of the *just*, and the assurance of eternal salvation; and I give thee moreover, all the privileges granted to those who go to war in defence of the Holy Land, and make thee partaker of the benefit of the prayers of the Catholic Church."

CHAPTER IV.

Thomas of Lancaster, Lord Lieutenant—Infringement of Laws—Black Rent—Contentions within the Pale—The De Courcys and Carews—Jack Cade—England's neglect of Ireland—False Accusations against the Earl of Ormond—Duke of York's good Government—Powerful Sept of the O'Neils—Defeat and Death of the Duke of York—George, Duke of Clarence, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland—Desmond, Deputy—Accusations against him—Beheaded at Drogheda—Sentence of Attainder reversed—Earl of Kildare, Lord Deputy—Institution of the Fraternity of St. George—Bill of Attainder against the Butlers repealed—Confused State of Affairs.

1401. HENRY IV. (surnamed Bolingbroke, from the place of his nativity) deputed his second son, Thomas, in his nonage, to the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland.

The followers of Wickliffe continuing to increase, although Richard II. had licensed the bishops to imprison them, the clergy now obtained an act for burning all those whom they denounced as obstinate heretics.

The young Governor of Ireland gave singular proofs of his ability, in his efforts to allay disturbances in Leinster and Meath. He received willing and effective aid from the citizens of Dublin, headed by their provost, John Drake.

1405. The incursions of the Scotch had become formidable in Ulster, and measures were adopted to put a stop to them. The inhabitants of Dublin and Drogheda prepared some small vessels and set sail on a marauding expedition to the coasts of Scotland, where they committed depredations in revenge for those their countrymen had sustained; by this means a cessation of hostilities was effected. Henry rewarded the Provost of Dublin, for his services, with the title of mayor, and the privilege of having a gilded sword carried before him.

In his description of Dublin, Camden says—"In times past this city had a provost for chief magistrate; but in the year 1409, Henry IV. granted them license to choose every year a mayor and two bailiffs; also that the mayor should have a gilt sword carried before him for ever."

1406. Campion, quoting "Records of Exchequer," mentions Sir Stephen Scroope as deputy to Thomas of Lancaster. He was Viceroy of Ireland under Richard II., and by reason of his extortion, and violence, was detested by the people. His lady knowing this, on his second appointment, protested that she would not again accompany him unless he entered into a solemn engagement not to oppress or harass the poor, nor do wrong to any man: she added, that she had made a vow to her Saviour to do as she had said, and to break it would be at the peril of her soul. Her firmness had the desired effect upon her husband. He made the engagement, and, by strictly adhering to it, gained universal approbation: he indemnified losses—remitted fines—restored

tenements—pardoned offences—kept open house, and liberally dispensed relief to the poor; so that the voices once vociferous in maledictions, were now loud in praises and blessings; and they who were heretofore his enemies, actively and cheerfully aided him in the warfare which he was compelled to maintain.*

1413. Henry IV. expired on the 20th of March. Popery attaches to his memory the glory of being the first king who permitted the burning of heretics.† All that was wrong in him was passed over by the ecclesiastics, who were zealous in praising their abettors.

Notwithstanding the act which had rendered the Irish custom of *coyne* and *livery*, or *coshering*, treasonable, the English Pale adopted it as a protection from encroachments. The statute of Kilkenny prohibited them from making war or peace without the consent of government: they were also prohibited from all commercial transactions with the natives; but it became impossible to observe these rules—first, by reason of the frequent incursions of the Irish; secondly, because their trading towns were surrounded by Irish inhabitants. The borderers were at last reduced to the necessity of purchasing the protection of some of the most powerful of the Irish chieftains by an annual payment, called the “Black Rent.”

1414. Sir John Talbot, Lord Furnival, was placed at the head of Irish affairs, but followed the example of his predecessors, in oppressive exactions, instead of devi-

* James Young's *Precepts of Government to the Earl of Ormond*, c. 5.

† Rapin.

sing means of conciliation. No wonder, then, that the Irish still regarded the Sassenahs (as they called the English) as aliens not allies.

Sir John Talbot performed some good service by intimidating the refractory chieftains. He left Ireland in 1417, detested by the people over whom he had ruled.

The appointment of James, Earl of Ormond, deputy to John, Duke of Bedford, gave general satisfaction. The Earl of Ormond's successful campaigns abroad had gained him great popularity, and his return to Ireland was hailed as an auspicious event. On entering into his office, he made a public declaration that he "would observe the laws, pay his just debts, and, at the close of his administration, make an assignment of lands, without any reserve, until all his debts should be fully discharged."

The Pale had drawn up a petition, which Ormond forwarded to the English Parliament; it is still extant, and contains a statement of grievances, not only inflicted by the enemy, but by the king's ministers, and implores that commissioners should be appointed to scrutinize the conduct of the king's officers in Ireland.

But Ormond could not quell the spirit of distrust and discontent which agitated the country: had the natives been united, they could soon have conquered the Pale, but they were at variance among themselves. Nor was the Pale free from internal contention—the English by blood and the English by birth being full of jealous feelings the one towards the other.

1422. On the last day of August, Henry V. died, leaving a son of a year old to succeed him.

1423. Edmund, Earl of March and Ulster, was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. He had a claim on the crown, which rendered it expedient to keep him at a distance during the minority.*

By the election of Henry IV., the Earl of March was excluded from the throne of England. It does not appear that he had any intention of claiming it; on the contrary, when some who had formed a conspiracy to place the crown upon his head, revealed their plot to him, he discovered all to Henry V. The chief conspirator was his brother-in-law, Richard, Earl of Cambridge, brother to the Duke of York. This ambitious earl had in view the exaltation of his own son, Richard, to the throne, he being heir apparent to the Earl of March, who had no children. The conspirators were apprehended, condemned, and executed. The Earl of Cambridge was beheaded at Southampton, in 1415.

The Earl of March died suddenly, at Trim, before the close of the first year of his administration in Ireland. Lord Talbot succeeded him, and was but a short time in office, when the Earl of Ormond was reinstated. His exertions were successfully directed to Ulster. He compelled O'Neil to deliver up that province to the Duke of York, who was now the heir and representative of the noble house of De Burgo. At the same time, he obliged the chieftains to relinquish the oppressive tribute called Black Rent.

Among the old English settlers, the families of De Courcy and Carew are particularly noticed. A large

* Rapin.

district of the county of Cork came into the possession of the latter by marriage; through a failure of male issue, the entire county was divided among daughters. The Carews were styled Marquisses of Cork. They built several castles in that part of the kingdom, in order to protect themselves from the natives. The most opulent among them, with many other English colonists, emigrated to England, to the great prejudice of the English interest, upon the breaking out of the civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster. The few English who remained were attacked by the Irish. De Courcy was stripped of most of his possessions; Mac Carthy Reagh wrested from him the cantred and castle of Kilbritton by main force. But still that ancient, noble race, held a barony called Courcy's country. In all times their names were untainted with any stigma of disloyalty, and they were never concerned in any rebellion against the crown of England. Their ancient seat is said to have been a royal residence of the kings of Ireland, and was called Duncearma. It was for many ages that of the De Courcys, the name being changed to Dun Mac Patrick, from Patrick Courcy. Gerald de Courcy, Lord Kinsale, quarters the arms of Cogan, in right of a marriage with the heiress of Milo de Cogan, to whom the first grant was made of this county.

1443. The Earl of Ormond was the only nobleman of Irish birth in whom the crown placed confidence. This was perceived, and drew upon him a lurking jealousy, which only waited an opportunity to break out. The power and influence of James, Earl of Desmond,

had risen to an alarming height. Detached from the English government, he exercised sovereign dominion in his enlarged territories : they had been incautiously granted, and the effects were soon manifest. Desmond bade defiance to the government, and commenced hostilities, which the Earl of Ormond saw the necessity of repressing; yet he could only treat with him as an independant sovereign. A truce was made for a year: Desmond spent this interval in strengthening his own party, and in caballing against the lord-lieutenant; hence Ormond's popularity received a mortifying check. Through the misrepresentations of his enemies, he was summoned to appear at the English court, in order to make answer to the accusations which had been brought against him. Instead of obeying the royal mandate, the earl convened a meeting of the nobility and gentry of the Pale, at Drogheda. He appeared before the assembly in the calm dignity of conscious rectitude; feeling the contempt due to the malice of his enemies, he told them that the English agents were present who brought the royal orders that he should give an account of his conduct during three years administration; he could boldly appeal, he said, to his most inveterate enemies, if any such were in the assembly, to stand forth and declare in what he had offended—in what single instance any of the king's subjects had suffered from his injustice, or the state from his neglect. He challenged the strictest overt scrutiny, while he deprecated the insidious malignity of his secret accusers.

The effect of this public appeal was all that he could desire, it brought forth a unanimous testimony to his

uprightness, fidelity, and great success in the services which he had rendered to his king and country. To which was added, a petition to the king, from his Irish subjects, that the order for the earl's departure should be suspended. By this means his enemies were foiled in their first attempt. But they tried another more successfully: a second address was transmitted to the king, representing the age and infirmities of the Earl of Ormond to be such as to render him incapable of governing the affairs of the realm: other reasons were alleged, and charges produced, which prevailed over the better-substantiated testimonials of the bishops of Cork and Cloyne, besides that of several temporal lords and corporations, to the unspotted integrity of his conduct; and another administrator was sent over, the Lord Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, who, in 1447, "obtained a grant from the king of the city and county of Waterford, with the title of Earl of Waterford, and the castles, honour, lands, and barony of Dungarvan, &c. &c., from Youghal to Waterford, because (as the patent says) that country is waste, to hold to him and his heirs male; and that he and they should be thenceforward stewards of the kingdom, to do and execute all things to that office appertaining as fully as the stewards of England did perform."*

Lord Talbot brought a military force of seven hundred chosen men to Ireland, which was found necessary to suppress numerous petty commotions. The Irish chieftains submitted; the English male-contents were

* Smith's *Waterford*.

intimidated; and peace restored (if it could be called restored in a country in which we can never find it established).

The Lord-Lieutenant convened a parliament at Trim, at which several enactments passed. He facilitated his government by uniting with the enemies of Ormond; and on his return to England, brought an accusation against him of high treason, before the Duke of Bedford, constable of England, but the king would not allow the prosecution to proceed. A second attempt was made of a similar nature, but more virulent, by the Prior of Kilmainham, which was to have been supported by single combat had not the king again interposed, which is said to have bound the Butlers to the house of Lancaster in after-times.

The contests between the houses of York and Lancaster involved Ireland, as well as England, in violent feuds. Henry VI. had married Margaret of Anjou, who had a genius and strength of understanding which brought the imbecile and pliant Henry completely under her control. She saw the expediency of removing the Duke of York to a distance; and she and her partisans brought about his appointment to the Vicegerency of Ireland, assigning as a reason, the danger of a rebellion, which would require his exertions and ability to keep under. A very deficient supply of troops were allowed him, that in case of an outbreak he might either be slain, or disgraced by a fruitless attempt to restore tranquillity. But no such alternative awaited the Duke of York. By his mild and conciliating conduct he won the hearts of the Irish, and

brought them back to their duty without force, or effusion of blood. And, moreover, he made them his fast friends, devoted to him and his family in all such services as they could render in the midst of their greatest misfortunes.*

1449. To the dignity of a prince of the blood-royal, he united the affectionate cordiality of relationship to the Irish, which formed a striking contrast to the governors who were accustomed to rule over them with a rod of iron. All, even those who were adverse to him, he received with urbanity. Ormond was known to favour the Lancastrians, but the duke did not seem to know it in the respect he shewed him—and he, in his turn, treated the duke with the deference due to his rank. The Earl of Desmond was captivated by the attentions of so great a prince, to whom he was soon after more firmly bound by the ties of gossipred. He and Ormond were chosen as sponsors at the baptism of George, Duke of Clarence, who was born in the castle of Dublin. By moderate and impartial measures, the Duke of York gained an ascendancy over the turbulent chieftains, one of whom (Mac Gheogan) on returning to his residence, boasted to his followers that he “had given peace to the king’s lieutenant.” He had in reality accepted of a treaty proposed by the duke.

1450. A low-born Irishman, named Jack Cade,† assumed a character which gave him importance. He said he was the son of Sir John Mortimer, who, without any trial or evidence to convict him, was sentenced by

* Rapin.

† Hume.

parliament, under a charge of high treason, and executed. The same historian adds, "it is to be presumed that Mortimer was guilty,—though his condemnation was informal and illegal." John Mortimer, as Cade called himself, had been guilty of crimes which obliged him to fly to France. When he afterwards returned and formed his project, his success in attracting numbers to join him was surprising. The fruitless rebellion which followed was laid to the charge of the Duke of York, as the chief instigator. He had passed ten years in Ireland—the greatly beloved of the people. When he embarked for England, he was without any attendance but that of his own servants: and gave a proof of his confidence in the Earl of Ormond by appointing him to govern Ireland in his absence.

1451. Under the title of deputy to the Duke of York, Ormond summoned a parliament at Drogheda. Soon afterwards, by the king's appointment, he was made Lord-Lieutenant: but death, the following year, terminated his administration.

Sir Edward Fitz-Eustace was chosen to supply his place:—he was fitted for government—warlike, active, and vigorous. His appointment was expressed in the king's patent, as deputy "of our dearly beloved cousin Richard, Duke of York, Lord-Lieutenant of our land in Ireland." At this time the sept of O'Neil caused some commotion. They had never resigned their native claim to the kingdom of Ulster, and had gradually dispossessed the English from many of their best settlements in that province. Of this period, Camden's observations are worthy of notice:—When, as

at this time, England is divided into parties and factions; civil war, in all its heat and virulence, calling on their countrymen in Ireland to take part in the quarrel:—these left their own territories defenceless,—O'Neil and others, of Irish blood, seized the opportunity to take possession of the country, which, in time past, “paid a mighty mass of money to their earls, which, since then, scarce yield any coin to the Kings of England:” and in nothing have those kings been more defective in piety and policy, than by their neglect of Ireland:—they have not promoted religion, nor the public weal, nor the civilization of the people. They have been guilty of this barbarity towards a people whom they cast off as barbarous. There are many reasons why England should pursue a different course:—the proximity of the island; its largeness; its advantages. The soil is fruitful; the pastures are rich; the woods are luxuriant. It is fertilized by noble rivers; divers minerals are embedded in its bosom; commodious harbours surround it; and its native inhabitants are men of strong mind and body—capable of the first-rate culture, and of being rendered singularly useful members of society.

At the time of Edward Bruce's invasion, Donald O'Neil addressed a missive to the Pope, in which he styled himself, “Donald O'Neil, King of Ulster, and, in right of inheritance, the undoubted heir of all Ireland.” But when tranquillity was restored he sunk into obscurity, and his high-sounding titles were heard no more. The spirit of the O'Neils was again roused by the contentions of York and Lancaster. Henry O'Neil

resumed the rank of chieftain; he had married the daughter of Thomas, Earl of Kildare,—which alliance was afterwards strengthened by the marriage of his son Con-More (*i. e.* Con the Great) with another of the Geraldines. The successor of Con-More pronounced a malediction against any of his posterity who should learn to speak the English language, or build houses, or sow wheat, or spread any allurements to attract the English to their quarters: for in so doing, he affirmed, that they would imitate “the crow, which makes her nest to be beaten out of it by the hawk.” *

1459. Richard, Duke of York, Earl of Ulster, and Lord of Connaught, again resumed the government of Ireland, and was received with open arms. It was now a place of refuge from his enemies. His eldest son, the Earl of March, had fled to Calais with the Earl of Salisbury; his second son, the Earl of Rutland, accompanied him to Ireland. “Strengthened with his earls and homages,” Richard remained about a year in Dublin, when the news of the decisive battle at Northampton tempted him back to London. His son, the Earl of March, had been victorious; the king was taken prisoner and many of his partisans slain. The slaughter fell chiefly on the nobility and gentry. The Earls of March and Warwick had given orders that the common people should be spared.†

Henry’s queen collected a great army at Wakefield; the Duke of York had a small one to oppose her, and was killed in the action which took place on the 24th of December, 1460.

* Camden.

† Camden.

In three months after the battle of Wakefield, fickle fortune changed again, and the Yorkists were victorious. Queen Margaret retreated at the approach of young Edward, who entered London amidst the acclamations of the citizens. His appearance and character, united with the popularity of his cause, secured to him public favour. He was in the bloom of youth, remarkable for the beauty of his person, as well as for his bravery, activity, and affability. He was first elected king by the people, with loud and joyful acclamations, and afterwards by a great assembly of bishops, lords, magistrates, and many distinguished persons, at Baynard's Castle. On the following day, he was proclaimed king, in London, under the name of Edward IV.

Soon after Edward IV. ascended the throne, he appointed his brother George, Duke of Clarence, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and as his deputy, the Lord-Treasurer, Sir Rowland Fitz-Eustace, now created Baron of Portlester; at the same time, Sir Robert Barnwall was created Baron of Trimbleston. Thus were the triumphant Yorkists raised to honours and dignities, while the adherents to the house of Lancaster were degraded.

1462. The Earl of Ormond was attainted and executed upon a scaffold. The Irish parliament this year passed an act for the attainder of Sir John Butler, his brother and heir to his title and possessions, together with many others of the same family, for their steady adherence to the Lancastrians.

Sir John Butler, relying on the fidelity of his Irishmen in Munster, took refuge in that province, with

a train of English followers who came to him for assistance and protection. These, with the Irish, crowding to his standard, formed a force which he deemed sufficient to resist the deputy; and not only to assert his own rights, but those of the dethroned monarch.

The Earl of Desmond wishing to signalize himself without any demand upon government for assistance, marched against him with his own followers, which formed an army of twenty thousand men: he had numbers on his side, but experience and skill gave the advantage to Sir John, who made Gerald, a brother of the earl, a prisoner, carried his victorious arms into Leinster and took possession of Wexford. From henceforward his fortune changed—he engaged in a pitched battle, and was defeated by superior numbers. Kilkenny was taken, and other towns belonging to the Butlers, from whence they retreated to their more retired country places. This was the only effort made in Ireland to oppose the Yorkists.

The Earl of Desmond, now made deputy, was too young and inexperienced for such an important post. In addition to the earldom, which he had lately attained by the death of his father, he was placed at the head of a numerous train of devoted followers,—the great lord of his sept.

1463. He held a parliament at Wexford, which was adjourned at different times to Waterford, Naas, and Dublin.

The contentions of the sept of Melachlin, the Irish chieftain, of Meath, with Petit, one of the first among the English settlers in his province, required the exer-

tions of the deputy, whose exaltation had excited the envy of the neighbouring clans, and they joined Melachlin in opposing the Earl of Desmond's forces. A battle was fought, in which they were defeated, and the earl was taken prisoner with a number of his followers. Nevertheless, the Irish did not fail in paying the respect due to a great chieftain, although a captive.

The advantages which the insurgents gained over Desmond were followed up. The different septs of Irish uniting together, drove out the English colonists from Munster. Desmond, instead of offering resistance, entered into a treaty with the enemy, which decreased his popularity, and brought forward complaints against his administration. William Sherwood, Bishop of Meath, instigated a riot, in which nine of Desmond's followers were slain at Fingal, near Dublin, which involved him in a quarrel with the prelate. Reciprocal accusations rose to such a height, that it was determined to refer them to the king: for which purpose the bishop, in person, pleaded his cause before Edward. Desmond did the same; and, completely foiling his antagonist, returned to his government rewarded with many favours.*

1465. Desmond summoned two parliaments this year:—one, on the feast of St. Martin, was held at Drogheda, where it was proposed that a university should be erected in that town; this act passed, but never took effect: others did, however, which were more important.

The parliament, convened at Trim, enacted that Irish-

* Smith's *Kerry*.

men should conform to English customs in wearing apparel and beards; that they should adopt English surnames; take the oath of allegiance to the King of England; make use of "bows and arrows, with a pair of butts for shooting; and have, also, a constable appointed in every town." * Clipped money was suppressed, and a new coinage enjoined, on a new regulation, suitable to the impoverished kingdom; by which every denomination of coin was increased one-fourth more in value than the English currency. Mints were afterwards established in Dublin, Trim, Drogheda, Waterford, and Galway. Great and zealous attachment was evinced towards Desmond in this assembly; and having expressed his intentions to go to England, they empowered him to nominate a vicegerent during his absence. They also furnished him with the most honourable testimonials to his administration, by which he obtained a gracious reception from Edward; while the accusations of his adversaries were dismissed as unworthy of regard. In contempt of all they could urge against it, the earl returned to his government.

Still he was watched with a jealous eye, and no opportunity let slip of doing him an injury. The following was seized with avidity. Desmond, with many others, disapproving of the king's marriage, had unguardedly uttered his sentiments, which were repeated to the king, and also to the queen, who, vindictively, sent private instructions to Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, now appointed Lord-Deputy of Ireland, with very exten-

* Smith's *Kerry*.

sive powers, to observe Desmond closely, and wherever there was a failure in any duty, to let the law take its course with severity. Tiptoft willingly undertook the commission, and, under the authority of the church, procured the following ordinance:—"Whereas our holy father, Adrian, Pope of Rome, was possessed of all the seigniory of Ireland, in right of his church, which, for a certain rent, he alienated to the King of England and his heirs for ever; by which grant the subjects of Ireland owe their obedience to the King of England as their sovereign lord; it is therefore ordained, that all archbishops and bishops of Ireland owe their obedience to the King of England, and shall, upon the monition of forty days, proceed to the excommunication of all disobedient subjects; and if such archbishop or bishop be remiss in doing their duty in the premises, they shall forfeit £100."*

But it does not appear that excommunication would be deemed sufficient punishment for the Earl of Desmond by his inveterate enemies, who procured an act, at a parliament held in Drogheda, "for attainting of treason, Thomas, Earl of Desmond, Thomas, Earl of Kildare, &c., for alliance, fostering, and alterage with the king's Irish enemies, and furnishing them with horses and arms, and supporting them against the king's subjects; declaring their lands and goods forfeit; and that whoever shall not discover their goods to the Earl of Worcester, within fourteen days after the rising of parliament, shall be attainted of felony."

* Leland.

We do not hear that the Earl of Desmond went through any form of trial or investigation. The simple fact is related, by order of the Earl of Worcester, he was beheaded on the 15th February, 1467. It is said, that a boy of his name and kindred was executed, by order, at the same time. This guiltless child, quite unconscious of what was to happen, besought the executioner not to hurt a boil that was upon his neck. The malice which instigated the murder of an innocent boy betrays the spirit of Desmond's persecutors. This account is related by Smith in his "History of Kerry." In another part of the volume we find the following note:—"Thomas, the eighth Earl of Desmond, who was beheaded at Drogheda for his unjust exactions, according to Davis, (or, according to Russell's history of this house, which I have in manuscript, by the malice of King Edward IVth's queen, for advising the king not to marry her)," &c.

By order of the king the sentence of attainder against the Geraldines was reversed by the same parliament which had passed it, their estates and dignities were restored. And the Earl of Kildare, who had escaped from prison and successfully pleaded their cause before the king, was appointed Lord-Deputy, to whom the Earl of Worcester gave place.

The attainder against the Earl of Desmond was also reversed in favour of his eldest son James, a boy of nine years old, to whom the titles and possessions of the family were restored.

1470. The ever-changing tide of affairs dethroned Edward and replaced Henry.

1471. Edward IV. re-ascended the throne of England, and Henry VI. was put out of the reach of his enemies, and all earthly inquietudes. During these fluctuations in England, Ireland remained tolerably tranquil under the government of the Earl of Kildare, who, for six years, made use of his power and influence for general improvement.

For the defence of the Pale, by an act of parliament, he instituted a fraternity, consisting of thirteen persons, chosen from among the inhabitants of the counties of Dublin, Meath, Kildare, and Louth. The highest in rank, and most distinguished for loyalty, were selected. The Earl of Kildare, Lord Portlester, and Sir Rowland Eustace, for Kildare; the Mayor of Dublin, Lord Howth, and Sir Robert Dowdal, for Dublin; Lord Gormanston, Edward and Alexander Plunket, &c., for Meath; the Mayor of Drogheda, Sir Laurence Taaf, and Richard Bellew, for Louth. They were called the Fraternity of St. George; and were appointed to meet annually, on St. George's day, to make regulations how to support the English government, &c. They had a leader annually chosen, to whom a train was assigned of one hundred and twenty archers and forty horsemen, with one attendant each. For the maintenance of this body, a subsidy of a shilling in the pound was levied out of all wares sold in Ireland, excepting such as were the property of the freemen of Dublin and Drogheda.

1475. The Butlers rose and the Geraldines fell. No rectitude of conduct could save the Earl of Kildare from this reverse. The old enemy of his house, Sherwood, Bishop of Meath, was appointed to succeed him

in the government. His first step was to convene a parliament, which repealed the bill of attainder passed against the family of the Earl of Ormond, which, since the time of his execution, had remained in obscurity. His brother, Sir John Butler, who had been defeated, was the next heir to his title and possessions, all of which were restored to him; as were those of the other branches of his family to each proprietor.

Sir John Butler had fled to England. He obtained pardon of the king and ingratiated himself into his favour. It is said, that Edward declared of him that he was "the goodliest knight and finest gentleman in Christendom; and that if good breeding, nurture, and liberal qualities were lost in the world, they might be found in John, Earl of Ormond."

He made use of his ascendancy over the king to effect the degradation of Kildare. Hence the ancient feuds of these rival families were revived with an increase of rancour, and threatened the whole island with civil war. Edward became alarmed, but before he could devise means to allay the strife, death released the Earl of Kildare from all his own and his adversaries' angry passions. The Earl of Ormond set out on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land,* where he ended his days, and was succeeded by his brother Thomas, the grandfather of Anne Boleyn, and great-grandfather of Queen Elizabeth.

Edward's partiality not extending to the whole of Ormond's race, he once more displaced the enemy of Kildare, and appointed Gerald, the young earl, Lord-

* Leland.

Deputy. But soon after, again changing his mind, he sent over Henry, Lord Grey, as deputy to his brother George, Duke of Clarence, which gave rise to a contention so serious as to threaten universal commotion. Kildare said he found informalities in the letters appointing another deputy, and declared he would not give up the office. He continued his state, and convened a parliament, while Lord Grey summoned another to annul the acts which his competitor had passed. In the midst of this confusion the death of the Duke of Clarence left the lord-lieutenancy vacant. The fate of this unfortunate young man was truly lamentable: committed to the Tower, and tried for his life by his brother Edward, who personally appeared as his accuser, not of any overt treasonable act, which he never had been guilty of, but of imprudence in speaking rashly.

Edward appointed his infant son to the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland. But this did not put an end to the feuds which continued to agitate the country. The Irish council refused to abide by the king's choice of a deputy, and insisting on their own right of election, would have no other than Kildare, whom Edward summoned, with the Archbishop of Dublin and others, to attend his court, to explain the cause of all these disorders. The presence of Lord Grey was also required, in whose place Edward appointed Preston, Lord Gormanston.

The result of this meeting was so satisfactory, that the king no longer hesitated about complying with the wishes of the people, and Kildare was reinstated, with a standing force of one hundred and fifty horsemen,

who were to be paid from the English fund, if that of Ireland was found inadequate. Thus we may judge of the low state of finances, when they were hardly deemed sufficient for the annual payment of £500, to maintain a small troop.

April 9th, 1482. Edward IV. was seized with a distemper, which carried him off in the forty-second year of his age, and twenty-third of his reign.

CHAPTER V.

Earl of Kildare's wise Administration—Richard III. on the Throne—Commutations caused by the Accession of Henry VII.—Lambert Simnel—His Coronation in Dublin—His Arrival and Defeat in England—Submission of his Partisans in Ireland—Internal Feuds—Perkin Warbeck in Ireland—Calamitous times—Lord Gormanston, Deputy—Sir Edward Poynings, Lord-Deputy—Meeting of Parliament at Drogheda—The Earl of Kildare Attainted and sent a Prisoner to London—Pleads his own cause; receives the King's pardon; and is again appointed to the Government of Ireland—Performs good services for the King—Death of Henry VII.

KILDARE, by his wise administration, gave general satisfaction. He guarded the English Pale from predatory incursion by inflicting severe penalties; and by entering into a scrutiny of the competitions of the old natives among themselves, he was frequently enabled to make a just decision, and pacify their feuds. The marriage of his sister to the son of Con O'Neil, the great chieftain of the north, added considerable weight to his influence and importance among the Irish. Such alliances bound them by a firm link to the family with which they became connected, but not to the English in general.

* During the short period of Richard the Third's usurpation, the Acts which passed in the Irish parliament give evidence to the estimation in which the Earl of Kildare was held in the exercise of his office.

The accession of Henry VII. caused great commotion in Ireland. Jasper, Earl of Pembroke and Duke of Bedford, the king's uncle, was nominated Lord-Lieutenant; the title and emoluments of this office, for a considerable time past, had been conferred on some prince of the blood, with a deputy to perform its functions while he remained in England. On this occasion the Earl of Kildare was not removed from his post, nor any others of the Yorkist faction from theirs, in accordance with an act of the Irish parliament, in the previous reign, that the officers of state should hold their places for life.

There was no efficient power in Ireland to counteract or cope with the Yorkists when Lambert Simnel appeared among them. It is supposed that the Earl of Kildare was prepared to expect him. The young im-

* 1483. A Bishop of Dublin petitioned parliament to relieve him from the inconvenience occasioned by its outlawry of the Irish language. This inconvenience is explained in the statute which passed in consequence, viz., the English clergy being ignorant of the Irish tongue, the care of souls in some parts of this diocese, in the very neighbourhood of Dublin, was "piteously neglected." It enacted, what was at that time contrary to the statute law, that this bishop should have liberty to present natives to certain of his livings. Stat. 2, Rich. III. This new regulation lasted no longer than the two years of Richard's usurpation. The service being then performed in Latin, in public worship, there was no hindrance from a want of knowing the vernacular tongue. Yet, not to know it, was found injurious to the best interests of the Irish, as this first testimony on record proves.

poster had been well initiated in the part he was to act. In his assumed dignity he presented himself undauntedly before the lord deputy, as the son of Clarence, their own prince, born in Dublin. He described his accumulated sufferings; his escape; his subsequent hardships and perils, and all to give place to the usurper of his rights. He implored the Irish nation to protect a prince of the blood-royal, who was the legitimate heir to the crown of England, in a strain so natural, moving, and eloquent, as to stir up all the enthusiasm of the enthusiastic Irish. The Earl of Kildare gave credence at once to his report, and introduced him to the lord chancellor and other officers in the character he personated. All the honour due to his high pretensions was paid to him. He was conducted in solemn procession and princely pomp from his lodgings to the castle of Dublin. Bacon says, "he was a comely youth and well favoured, not without some extraordinary dignity and grace of aspect." He was but fifteen years of age, yet never betrayed his origin while receiving the honours which were profusely lavished upon him.*

1487. Two thousand German troops, sent by the Duchess of Burgundy in aid of the young pretender, landed in Dublin early in May, and were present at the coronation of Simnel, who had already been proclaimed, in the city, Edward VI., King of England and Lord of Ireland. The greater part of Ireland acknowledged his right and title. Octavian de Palatio, Primate of Armagh,

* Leland.

at first sanctioned his claim, but upon better information from the Archbishop of Canterbury, he retracted. The Bishops of Cashel, Tuam, Clogher, and Ossory, held out against the imposter, all the other clergy were on his side. The Baron of Howth, and the family of Butler, remained firmly attached to Henry, and sent emissaries to inform him of all these commotions.

In Smith's "History of Waterford," we find the following statement :—1487. "This year Lambert Simnel, a baker's son, was crowned king in Dublin, by the Earl of Kildare, then Lord Deputy, with the assistance of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of the northern parts of Ireland." Soon after, the earl, as tutor to the said mock king, sent a command to Mr. John Butler, the mayor of Waterford, to be in readiness to receive and assist him with all the forces of the city. The mayor sent his answer in writing by a messenger of his own, and with the advice of the council, declaring that the citizens of Waterford held all such as rebels to the rightful King of England, who proclaimed and crowned the said Lambert.

The earl being moved with that answer, commanded the messenger to be hanged in Hoggin Green,*—whereat Walter, Archbishop of Dublin, and others of the council, were offended. The earl immediately sent his herald, in his coat of arms, to Waterford,—who would have landed, but was forbidden by the mayor, who ordered that he should deliver his message from the boat. The herald, in the name of the earl, commanded

* Hog Hill, in Dublin.

the mayor and citizens, under pain of hanging at their own doors, to proclaim the said king, and to accept him as their lawful prince. In return, the mayor desired the herald to tell those who sent him, that they should not have the trouble of hanging him at his door, for (God willing), he and the citizens would encounter the false king and his attendants, thirty miles from Waterford, and there give them an overthrow, which would cover them with dishonour and infamy. To prepare for this, the Butlers assembled at Waterford; at the same time, the inhabitants of Clonmel, Feathard, Calan, and other towns, prepared themselves for resistance.

The ceremony of the coronation was performed with great solemnity in the presence of the Earl of Kildare, the chancellor, and other state officers. A diadem, taken from the head of a statue of the Virgin Mary, in St. Mary's Abbey, served for the occasion; the Bishop of Meath explaining and enforcing the right of the young man to reign. From thence, according to old Irish usage, the boy was elevated on the shoulders of a man of high stature, "called Great Darcy, of Platten," and triumphantly carried to Dublin Castle. It is recorded in the "History of Ireland," that the mock sovereign summoned a kind of parliament, wherein the clergy granted the pope a subsidy, for fear the court of Rome should take occasion, from these proceedings, to give them trouble."* In the same parliament, laws were enacted and vengeance denounced against all who resisted the young king. The franchises, and posses-

* Rapin.

sions of the city of Waterford were declared forfeit. Thomas Butler, a principal branch of the Ormond family, was attainted and his possessions seized. His brother, William, was treated as a rebel, and obliged to make his escape to England.

In the hope of putting an end to the infatuation, Henry ordered the true Earl of Warwick to be shewn in public; and he was accordingly brought through the principal streets in London, and afterwards, in solemn procession, to St. Paul's, where he was seen and spoken to by very many to whom he was personally known, and not a few among them of the Yorkist party—after which, he was again lodged in the tower. In what manner soever this might have removed the veil from the English, it had no effect on the Irish, who still maintained that they had the true Earl of Warwick, and the one in England was a cheat. But the reign of the cheat was nearly at an end. His success in Ireland emboldened his partisans to cross the sea, and Henry was apprized of the landing of Simnel at Foudrey, in Lancashire, accompanied by the Earl of Lincoln, Thomas Fitz-Gerald, brother to the Earl of Kildare, Lord Lovel, and Martin Swartz, the general of the German forces.

A decisive battle was fought, in which four thousand of the rebels fell. Lambert Simnel was taken prisoner with his instructor and guide, Simon, the priest; their lives were spared by order of the king, who preferred Simnel to the office of turnspit in his kitchen. He was afterwards raised to the more honourable employment of the king's falconer, in which he continued during his lifetime.

This fatal termination to the hopes of Henry's rebellious subjects in Ireland filled them with alarm. In order to avert the effects of his indignation, the lord-deputy, together with the lords who had joined him, despatched emissaries with offers of submission, entreaties for pardon, and vows of future fealty, if granted. It was Henry's policy to accept of their overtures, at a time when the rebellion in England was much more formidable than that of Ireland. With a sharp rebuke, and strict injunction to maintain the king's interest in future, he continued the Earl of Kildare, and the other lords, in office. On the 7th December, 1487, James, the ninth Earl of Desmond, was assassinated by his own servants, at Courtmontress, his residence, near Rathkeal. They were all apprehended and executed through the exertions of his brother Maurice, who succeeded him.

1488. Hoping to secure the fidelity of the Irish, Henry sent his approved ambassador, Sir Richard Edgecumbe, with an escort of five hundred men, to tender the oath of allegiance to such as had not taken it, and to compel those who had to renew it; also to confirm the royal indulgence to all such as would enter into satisfactory engagements of future fealty.

Sir Richard sailed into the harbour of Kinsale, where, instead of landing, he sent orders to the chief nobleman of the district, Thomas, Lord Barry, to attend him on shipboard—which he did, and bound himself and his barony by the oath of allegiance and homage required. On the following day, at the earnest entreaty of James, Lord Courcy, Edgecumbe honoured the town with his

presence, and in the church received the homage of Courcy for his barony. His example was followed by all the inhabitants of Kinsale, who likewise bound themselves by the oath of allegiance. From hence, in a coasting direction, Sir Richard proceeded to Waterford, where he had no hesitation about landing. He was well received, “on the 30th of June, by the mayor and worshipful men of the city, and entertained honourably; and was lodged by the mayor in his own house, who made him right hearty cheer.” *

On the 5th of July, Sir Richard landed in Dublin, where he found the Bishop of Meath, the clergy, the mayor and magistrates, submissively waiting to receive him; but the Earl of Kildare did not present himself before the king’s commissioners until seven days afterwards; and when he did appear, accounted for his absence by saying that he was engaged on a pilgrimage. The reception, on both sides, was cold and formal. The interview took place at the Abbey of St. Thomas,† and after some procrastination the earl did homage. In a solemn and public manner, homage and fealty were likewise performed by the Lords Portlester, Gormans-ton, Slane, Trimbleston, and Dunsany, all of whom were absolved from the pope’s sentence of excommunication, which Henry had procured to be issued by a bull. The prelates of Dublin, Meath, and Kildare, with

* Smith’s *Waterford*.

† The longest suburb of Dublin was called St. Thomas Street, in which stood a magnificent abbey, called Thomas Court. It was founded, and endowed with very ample revenues, by Henry II., as an expiation of the murder of Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury.—*Camden*.

some abbots and priors, also submitted and received absolution. Such, however, was the estimation in which these Irish lords and clergy were held, that Sir Richard would not trust to them the consecration of the host on which they were sworn, but had it done by his own chaplain.*

The comparatively small number in Ireland who had not taken part in the late revolt, rated their services high, and were very jealous where they saw, or fancied they saw, others preferred before them. They were continually soliciting favours, and thought themselves alone worthy of confidence. Octavian, Primate of Armagh, urged the expediency of making him chancellor, as a counterbalance to the too great power of the deputy, who dispatched an emissary to the king to make such representations as he hoped would defeat the secret purposes of his enemies. Henry heard both sides, with a determination to act cautiously. While he rejected the petition of Octavian, he deemed it expedient to summon the Earl of Kildare, with a number of the lords temporal, to appear before him. The names of those who obeyed this summons are †Kildare, Buttevant, Fermoy, Athenry, Kinsale, Gormanston, Delvin, Howth, Slane, Killeen, Trimbleston, and Dunsany. These all waited upon the king, at Greenwich. After some expostulations, and advice in regard to their future conduct, Henry invited them to a banquet, at which their late king, Simnel, had the honour of being permitted to wait upon them, fo

* Leland.

† Ware's *Annals*.

which purpose he was, for that day, raised from his post in the kitchen.* On taking leave of Henry, he dismissed them with gracious assurances of his confidence and favour. To the Baron of Howth he made a present of three hundred pieces of gold, as a distinguishing mark of his favour.

On his return to Ireland, the Earl of Kildare exercised his power in defending the Pale from occasional insurgents. The Irish chieftains, at war among themselves, took no heed to the proceedings of the English faction. They kept possession of the best part of the island, and only thought of driving each other out, as if there were no stranger to contend against. The principal seat of this civil commotion was Ulster. Con O'Neil, bound to the deputy by blood and alliance, was confident of his support when he made an attack on Hugh O'Donnel, the chieftain of Tyrconnel (now called Donegal), for refusing to pay tribute to him as his liege lord. The demand was made with authority and an unfinished threat—"Send me tribute, or else—" which was in like manner answered, "I owe you none, and if—" The result of the conflict I cannot discover, any further than that it was sanguinary, and continued until O'Neil was murdered by his own brother, in January, 1492.

Another warfare was carried on in the south. The power of the tenth Earl of Desmond was greater than that of any chieftain in Munster, and was increased by two victories which he gained over O'Carrol and Macarthy, both of whom fell in battle. He had a

* Ware's *Annals*.

defect in his limbs, and was usually carried in a horse-litter, which procured for him the surname of Claudus.*

The failure in regard to Lambert Simnel did not discourage those who laid that plot from forming another : but how strange that the too credulous Irish should again suffer themselves to be drawn into the snare ! Peter, Peterkin, or Perkin Warbeck, were the names given to a new impostor, who personated the young prince, whom the Duchess of Burgundy asserted had escaped out of the hands of his cruel uncle. Warbeck, calling himself Richard Plantagenet, landed at Cork, in 1491. A crowd of people gathered round him, whose attentive ears he filled with the wondrous story of his escape from his cruel uncle, and of the adventures which followed. He was received by the mayor (John Walters) and the principal citizens of Cork with the respect due to a prince. A party was formed in his favour, and the Earls of Kildare and Desmond were invited to join in the cabal. The latter openly declared for him; the answer of the former was not revealed.

1492. All the state officers were removed. The Earl of Kildare was required to yield his commission to Walter Fitz-Symons, the Archbishop of Dublin. Fitz-Eustace, Baron of Portlester, the earl's father-in-law, was dismissed from the post of high treasurer, which he had held for thirty years: it was now given to Sir James Butler. These changes were very grievous

* Smith's *Kerry*.

to Kildare, who had managed the affairs of his government for many years with such success, that, for centuries afterwards, he was called the Great Earl. To see his authority vested in the hands of his enemies was more than he could bear, and he was now ready to forward the exaltation of the new impostor; but before any important step could be taken, messengers arrived from France to invite Warbeck to the Court of Charles.

At this time Ireland groaned under an accumulation of calamities. The English Pale suffered from a grievous malady called "the sweating sickness,"—famine, pestilence, and civil war raged together. Complaints pouring in upon Henry, prompted him to require the attendance of the Archbishop of Dublin, in order to explain the cause and extent of these evils. The Earl of Kildare, dreading the effects of the archbishop's representations, also repaired to the court of England, but was not heard with complacency, and he returned to Dublin disgraced and disheartened.

The archbishop met with a kind reception from the king, whose mind was not enlightened by the deputy's account of affairs in Ireland; the abilities of a statesman and ecclesiastic were not united in his character, which was only fitted for the latter. He gave a proof of this in the king's presence. After a foreign ambassador had poured forth a flourishing description of the glory and renown of the English monarch, amidst bursts of applause from the courtiers, Henry enquired of the archbishop what he thought of it? "It pleaseth me well," he answered with his usual simplicity, "but methinks

it flattereth your highness too much." "In sooth," replied the king, "good father of Dublin, the same fault occurred to us, and we were minded to observe it."

1493. The new appointment of a deputy satisfied the Geraldines. Robert Preston, Lord Gormanston, was chosen to fill that office. He convened a parliament at Drogheda, and met with great opposition.

Henry now perceiving that some more efficient measures than had hitherto been adopted were necessary for the good government of his Irish dominions, fixed upon Sir Edward Poynings as the only individual capable of undertaking this arduous post. He landed in September, 1494, with an armed force of one thousand men, and with Englishmen to fill the places of the chancellor, treasurer, and lawyers, who had been removed on his appointment. His principal commission from the king was to quell the partisans of the house of York in Ireland, and to reduce the natives to subjection. Henry appointed his second son, the Duke of York, at two years old, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and President of the Northern Marshes; thus securing to himself the emoluments of both places.

Sir Edward Poynings had some contests with the Irish chieftain, O'Hanlon, and the Earl of Kildare's brother, James Fitz-Gerald, but effected nothing important until after he had spent fourteen months in Ireland, when he convened a parliament at Drogheda—the first which formed anything like a regular government. This meeting was for the express purpose of reforming the English Pale; and that famous statute passed, called Poynings' Act, which establishes the

English government in Ireland. The Irish Commons proposed that no bill should henceforward be introduced into the Irish parliament but such as had been previously sanctioned by the council of England. This was in order to secure themselves from the tyranny of their lords, particularly of such lieutenants as were of Irish birth.

The following summary is given of its proceedings in the "Monthly Chronologer":—

1493. Sir Edward Poynings held a parliament at Drogheda, in which twenty-three acts were passed, which appear in our printed statutes; the fourth of these was that famous law which altered the manner of holding parliaments and passing laws in Ireland. The enactments were principally directed against the prevailing evils. 1. That of holding parliaments by the deputy's authority, without the king's especial license for that purpose. 2. Enacting laws, to the contents of which the king was a stranger. 3. The custom of giving an asylum to the pretenders to the crown. 4. Disobedience to the king's seals and writs. 5. The making war and peace, without the lord-lieutenant's license. 6. The power of the great lords over the people. 7. The succours given to Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck.

The acts which passed at this time considerably abridged the power of the lord-lieutenant and council; they enlarged and strengthened the constitutional rights and liberties of the people, and secured the kingdom of Ireland, under the enjoyment of its freedom, to the crown of England. The purposes of these laws were

to remove jealousies, and to establish harmony between the king and his people; to connect Ireland for ever to the crown of Great Britain; to promote the mutual welfare, and to strengthen the security of both kingdoms. This was a wise, political compact, between the crown and the people, and ought never to have been violated or broken.*

The law of coyne and livery, which compelled the people to pay and maintain their lord's retainers, was now abolished, and in its place a tax was substituted. Fire-arms† were forbidden without special licence, and the regular use of archery enjoined to the lower orders. The wild war-cries, which had been adopted in imitation of the natives by English factions, were prohibited—that of Ormond was *Butlerabo*, (*i. e.* the cause of the Butlers); Kildare's cry was *Cromabo*, from a castle belonging to the earl, called Crom.‡

When the Duke of York was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, an act passed which permitted foreigners to find a sanctuary in Ireland; and rendering it treasonable to disturb such refugees by any writ, letters missive, or other such authority from England. It was now repealed, and all receivers and maintainers of traitors were declared guilty of treason.§

The Earl of Kildare was attainted by Poyning's parliament, and sent a prisoner to London.

* *Monthly Chronologer*. Vol. xl. 1770.

† The first muskets seen in Ireland were sent from Germany, in 1489, to the Earl of Kildare, and from this time borne by his guard before his residence in Thomas Court.—*M'Gregor*.

‡ Hume. Sir John Davies, p. 235.

§ Ware.

The king addressed two letters to the citizens of Waterford, in testimony of his approbation of their loyalty in repulsing the impostor, and gave a motto for the city arms, "*Urbs intacta manet Waterfordia.*"

After a year's imprisonment, the king gave the Earl of Kildare liberty to plead his own cause in the royal presence. Being confronted with his accusers, one of the charges brought against him was the burning of the church at Cashel; he admitted the fact, but declared that he thought the archbishop was in the edifice. The Archbishop of Cashel and the Bishop of Meath, his chief accusers, were both present.

Other charges were brought against him, for which not finding a ready answer, the king advised him to provide himself with good counsel. "If I may but choose," he replied, "I shall have the best counsel in England." Henry inquiring who that might be, the earl answered—"Marry, the king himself." Several other serious accusations were brought forward, and answered in such a manner as to give a ludicrous turn to the whole affair. In conclusion, his enraged accusers declared that "not all Ireland could govern this earl." "Well," replied the king, "this earl shall govern all Ireland."

Finally, received into the good favour and confidence of the king, he was created a knight of the garter, and restored to all his honours and possessions. Moreover, he obtained full pardon for Desmond and his adherents. With all his apparent simplicity, there was no man more vigorous in acting, nor more fit to govern the the Irish people than Kildare, who never again abused

the king's confidence. In order to secure it, Henry detained the earl's son as a hostage. But that was not now necessary, for the united ties of gratitude and affection bound Kildare to Henry, whose interest he consulted, and henceforth promoted with undeviating zeal. His very name became a terror to the Irish insurgents, whom he drove out of the forts they had seized.

From the north, Kildare proceeded to the south, where another insurrection required his attention; and similar vigour met with similar success. Having reduced Cork and Kinsale to submit, he placed strong garrisons in both. His attachment to the interests of the crown made him attempt a reconciliation with some who had been at variance with him. It was hearty and sincere, between him and the Archbishop of Armagh; but not so with the house of Ormond. Sir James Butler proposed his attendance upon the lord-deputy in Dublin, in order to explain his conduct in a personal interview. He came with a formidable train of armed men. The citizens, in alarm, took up arms likewise.

The cathedral, which was appointed for this meeting, was soon filled with armed men, who, unmindful of the sacred edifice—from inflammatory reproaches proceeded to violence, and a discharge of arrows damaged the church, and spoiled its furniture.*

Ormond suspected that a conspiracy had been formed to take away his life, but the deputy dispelled his fears,

* For this profanation, by order of the Pope, the Mayor of Dublin was condemned to walk barefoot, carrying the host in procession through the city, annually, on Corpus Christi day, which custom was kept up until the Reformation.

and gave him assurances of safety and protection. The interview ended with an outward show of friendship—while hatred still rankled at the heart of each. To lessen the power of this enemy, it is said, Kildare gave his daughter Margaret in marriage to his competitor, Pierce, the presumptive heir to the earldom of Ormond.

At length a confederacy was formed among several native chieftains, to whom Ulick Bourke (commonly called Mac William) joined himself. He was Lord of Clanricarde,—the head of a powerful sept of degenerate English.

Kildare took the field in all the state of chief governor. He was supported by the lords of the Pale, and by the Irish chieftains, O'Neil, O'Donnel, &c. The army of Clanricarde, and his confederates, besides the advantage of numbers, had possession of Galway. About seven miles from the town, at the hill of Knocktuadh, both armies met, on the 19th of August, 1504. On viewing the disproportionate numbers, some were deliberating on the expediency of a retreat: but Nugent, Lord Delvin, came forward, saying, that he would throw a spear among the Irish, and, spiritedly spurring on his horse, he threw it with such effect as to inflict a mortal wound on one of the Burkes,—after which chivalrous deed, he rode back to the troop he commanded. Emboldened by such an example, the chiefs resolutely stood their ground, while the archers received the first onset and repelled it with great execution: their antagonists flying with precipitation, were pursued to the very gates of Galway, which the con-

queror entered in triumph next morning. It is said that, in the army of Kildare, there was not one English soldier slain, nor even wounded:—but the loss on the other side was immense,—the number not ascertained. Clanricarde was slain, and two of his sons were made prisoners. The battle is attributed to a private quarrel between this lord and the deputy, who was his father-in-law. Davies says, “though the lords and gentlemen of the Pale joined the famous battle of Knocktow, in Connaught, wherein Mac William, with four thousand of the Irish were slain, yet was not this journey made by warrant from the king, or upon his charge (as is expressed in the ‘Book of Howth’), but only on a private quarrel of the Earl of Kildare:—so loosely were the martial affairs of Ireland carried, during the reign of King Henry Seventh.”—However that might be, the result was propitious to the crown of England, in the total overthrow of the Irish enemies.

1509. On the 22nd of April Henry VII. died, at Richmond, at the age of fifty-two, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign. Ireland was indebted to him for his moderation, forbearance, and wisdom, in all its concerns. He evinced great discernment and prudence in passing over things that were very reprehensible in the conduct of the Earl of Kildare, and in continuing him in the important post he occupied. No man was more capable than this nobleman of intimidating the refractory,—nor of encouraging his adherents. He was an object of admiration and affection to his followers, on account of his energy, liberality, and valour. During the last ten years of his administration, his faithful services to

the crown regained the authority that had declined, through misrule, for two centuries. The country was quieted; the Pale secured; and some of the most violent of the rebellious native chieftains were calmed into a friendly intercourse with the English.

CHAPTER VI.

Feuds between the Geraldines and Butlers—The great Countess of Ormond—Accusations against the Earl of Kildare—The Earl of Surrey's good Administration—The evil effects of his Removal—Commencement of the Reformation—The Earl of Kildare Lord-Deputy of Ireland—Cited to appear before Henry—Rebellion of his son Thomas—His execution at Tyburn with five of his Uncles—Translation of the Bible—The Reformation in Ireland—Irish Parliament—New Laws Enacted—The Irish resist the Reformation—Brought into subjection by Lord Leonard Grey—Henry proclaimed King of Ireland—Progress of the Reformation—Joy of the People—Irish Lords at the Court of England—Titles Conferred—Peace throughout Ireland—Introduction of Theatrical Entertainments.

THE Earl of Kildare, by uniting his daughter to Pierce, Earl of Ormond, hoped to have put an end to the feuds which had so long subsisted between those rival families: but this alliance, far from fulfilling his expectations, had a contrary effect. The wife, by espousing the cause of her husband, widened the breach between him and her brother Gerald—who, in 1513, succeeded his father in the vicegerency of Ireland. She was called the great Countess of Ormond. Stanihurst says, that “Pierce, Earl of Ormond, was a plain simple gentleman,

saving in feats of arms: but his countess was a lady of such port—that all estates of the realm crouched unto her; and such a politician—that nothing was thought substantially debated without her advice. She was tall of stature, and masculine; very liberal,—very bountiful; a fast friend,—a bitter enemy; seldom disliking whom once she liked,—not easily liking whom once she disliked.”

In consequence of numerous accusations against the Earl of Kildare, Henry VIII. summoned him to England; and through the influence of Cardinal Wolsey, an English nobleman was made Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

1520. Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, was sent over with a small military force.

Wolsey having charged Kildare with a design to assume to himself sovereign power over Ireland, he answered, “Would, my lord, that you and I had changed kingdoms but for one month:—I could gather up more crumbs in that little space than twice the revenues of my poor earldom. Upbraid me not in such odious form. I slumber in a hard cabin:—you sleep softly on a bed of down. I serve under the vault of heaven:—you are served under a gorgeous canopy. I drink water out of a mean cup:—you drink wine out of a golden goblet. You are graced, lorded—crouched, and knelt to: but our Irish borderers would have their knees cut before they would bend themselves.” The haughty cardinal, finding that he had no simpleton to deal with, deferred the trial until further proofs against him could be sent from Ireland; but every attempt to procure them having failed, the earl was fully acquitted, and formed a high

alliance, by being united to Lady Elizabeth Grey, daughter of the Marquis of Dorset.

The Earl of Surrey governed Ireland, for two years, in such a manner as to gain the affections of the people. His hospitality was munificent; his justice impartial; and the whole of his administration was conducted with wisdom and moderation. He suppressed violent insurrections in different parts of the kingdom, and was empowered to invest the two chieftains of Ulster, Con O'Neil and O'Donnel, on their submission, with the order of knighthood. O'Neil received the additional honour of an invitation from the king to visit his court, and, with the invitation, a present of a collar of gold.

The Irish saw the Earl of Surrey depart from their shores with deep regret. When he announced the king's orders that he should raise a body of troops, numbers came forward to enlist in his service.

Surrey had always espoused the cause of the Butlers, and, on his leaving Ireland, procured the appointment of Pierce, Earl of Ormond, to be vicegerent. The civil strife of the native chieftains soon afterwards revived, and also the rivalry between the Geraldines and Butlers.

The new Lord-Deputy was called Pierce the Red. He was particularly obnoxious to Fitz-Patrick, the chieftain of Ossory, by whom an ambassador was dispatched to the English court. Accosting the king unceremoniously, at the door of his private chapel, the uncouth messenger cried out in Latin, "Stand, my lord, O king!—My Lord Gillpatrick has sent me unto thee, and commanded me to say, that if thou dost not

chastise Peter the Red, he will make war upon thee.” *
We do not hear that Henry paid any regard to this threat.

1522. The Earl of Kildare returned to Ireland and found a strong party against him. In his absence, the Earl of Ormond had demolished several of his castles, and exercised his authority in unprovoked spoliation. The king being apprised of this, issued his royal mandate that Ormond should resign the deputyship to his rival.

The Earl of Ormond, in compliance with his majesty's inclination, had surrendered his earldom to his kinsman, Sir Thomas Boleyn, and received, instead, that of Ossory.†

1517. We are now approaching a most important period of history. The disclosures of Martin Luther, resulting from his searching the Scriptures, were leading men to follow his example, and the entrance of the Word was giving light. Doctrines subversive of popery were clearly revealed; and the man of sin was no longer concealed under “a refuge of lies.”

Large sums of money were being levied by means of a general mart for the sale of indulgences, opened by Leo X. Guicciardine says, “that the powers for releasing souls out of purgatory were openly played for in taverns.”‡

In 1521, Henry VIII. published a work he had

* M'Gregor.

† Sir Thomas Boleyn dying without issue, the Butlers were restored to their old hereditary title.

‡ Rapin.

written, entitled, "Concerning the Seven Sacraments:" his purpose was to confute the arguments of Luther. It was presented to the Pope, in full consistory, and received with acclamations of joy. Leo X. spoke of it in terms of highest flattery—comparing it with the works of St. Augustine and St. Jerome. He consulted with the cardinals in what manner he should reward the King of England for the great service he had rendered the church. After a long debate, it was decided that he should be honoured with the title of "Defender of the Faith:" which, it was decreed, should be conferred on all the succeeding kings of England.

1523. Luther published an answer to the King of England's book, at which Henry took offence, and hence was induced to complain of him to the princes of the house of Saxony, whom he exhorted to prevent the publication of Luther's German Bible, as prejudicial to the truth: but without effect. The change which took place in the King of England's sentiments has been ascribed to his strong attachment to Anne Boleyn. Sir Thomas, her father, had been twice sent ambassador to France, at which court his daughter Anne resided from her seventh year. Camden affirms that she remained with Queen Claude until July, 1524. At the age of twenty she became maid of honour to Queen Catherine.*

Ireland's unsettled state, in a great measure, may be attributed to the frequent changes of its governors. The Duke of Richmond, Henry's illegitimate son, was ap-

* Rapin.

pointed to that important office in 1530: Sir William Skeffington being deputy.

Kildare had married his daughter to O'Connor, the chieftain of Ophally, who had treacherously seized upon Richard Nugent, Baron of Delvin, and cast him into prison: for in these lawless times it seemed as if every man did that which was right in his own eyes. The Earl of Ossory, in a letter to Henry VIII. writes thus:—"After the taking of the Baron of Delvin treacherously, by the Earl of Kildare's son-in-law, O'Connor, all the Irish determined to have joined in aid with the said O'Connor, for the destruction of your English Pale, through the practice of the said Earl of Kildare: trusting that your grace would be moved thereby to release Delvin from his durance, and send him here to rule again." * "Kildare's object," he adds, "at this time, is to compel the Irish to combine and confederate with him, having no regard to the king's deputy. He would make all the land believe that the deputy is sent only to be his instrument."

1534. In January, Henry assembled a parliament, and enacted laws subversive of the Papal authority: another parliament was assembled in November, which conferred on the king the title of only supreme head, *on earth*, of the Church of England.

While Henry busied himself in bringing about important changes in religion, Ireland was neglected; but a crisis had arrived which roused his attention to the

* Richard Nugent, Baron Delvin, had been Lord Justice in 1526, with Thomas Fitz-Gerald of Leixlip.

affairs of that part of his dominions. The Emperor Charles V., in revenge for his proceedings derogatory to Catherine of Arragon, was trying to raise an insurrection in Ireland, and entered into a negotiation with the Earl of Desmond, but it came to nothing in consequence of the death of the earl. The fall of Cardinal Wolsey had delivered the Earl of Kildare from the apprehensions he always entertained from the influence of so powerful an adversary. The reins of government were now in his hands, and he exercised his authority in the overthrow of his enemies and the aggrandizement of his family and adherents. The chief objects of his rigour were the Earl of Ossory and all the Butlers, whose lands he invaded and ravaged without mercy; he was surrounded by an armed rabble, which supported his party, and wreaked vengeance on all who opposed him. In order to reduce this turbulent movement, a memorial was sent to Henry, which gave a detail of the grievances of his subjects in Ireland, and the general disorders of the state; also a statement of the narrow limits in which English laws, manners, language, habiliments, &c. were observed, not comprising more than twenty miles. Upon this information, Henry cited the Earl of Kildare to appear before him.

With great reluctance, Kildare obeyed the royal mandate, which was accompanied with an order that he should provide a fit delegate in his absence. He appointed his son to this important office, than whom one more unfit he could not have chosen. Lord Thomas was a youth not yet of age, who had been brought up in scenes of misrule—high-minded, presumptuous, rash.

Before Kildare quitted the kingdom, he guarded against the retaliation which he merited and expected from rival lords, by fortifying his castles, and furnishing them with arms and ammunition out of the public stores—in defiance of the king's express prohibition. His son was surrounded by his Irish kinsmen—lovers of strife—whose counsels alone had weight with him. A false report was spread that his father was beheaded in the Tower of London, and that the same fate awaited his uncles. Exasperated to madness, he was easily instigated to cast off his allegiance, and to join O'Neil and O'Connor in plunging at once into all the horrors of rebellion. At the head of a troop of horse, Lord Thomas rode through Dublin, to Mary's Abbey, where, by appointment, the council was waiting to receive him. But, instead of taking his seat, he delivered up the sword and robes of state, solemnly renouncing his allegiance. The Lord Chancellor, Cromer, who was his father's friend, remonstrated with him, energetically and forcibly describing the calamities of rebellion. An Irish bard being present, and mistaking the tenor of a language which he did not understand, burst forth in his own strain of heroic praise of the gallant "silken lord,"—a title given to Lord Thomas by his wild followers, from the richness of his attire, and the splendor of his train. The impetuous boy, neglecting the counsel of wisdom, listened to the fool, and rashly rushing to his armed band, proceeded to the commission of deeds which brought on his own ruin, and that of most of his race.

A destructive pestilence raged in Dublin, with the

addition of war and famine. The rich territory of Fingal, which was the granary of the city, was plundered by the mountain septs of Wicklow, which had joined Lord Thomas. Allan, Archbishop of Dublin, with some others who had opposed the Geraldines, fled for refuge to the castle of Dublin. Being threatened with a siege, the archbishop, believing that he was not in safety, embarked in a vessel for England: it was stranded near Clontarf, and the archbishop being taken by the enemy, implored their mercy in vain: he was barbarously murdered,—Lord Thomas looking on. After having committed the siege of the well-fortified castle to some of his men, with the remainder he invaded the lands of the Earl of Ossory. This nobleman, being well prepared for the attack, was able to defend his property. Lord Thomas, having tried to persuade Ossory to unite with him, by promising to divide the dominion of Ireland between them as soon as the conquest was made; the Earl of Ossory answered:—"If my country were laid waste; my castles won and prostrated; and myself an exile:—yet still would I persevere in my duty to my king." Upon this failure, Lord Thomas marched towards Dublin, from whence a messenger was sent to tell him—that his forces had been unsuccessful; that many of them had been arrested as traitors, and that they were confined within the city gates. Not discouraged by these tidings, Lord Thomas advanced and assaulted the city in two quarters: but he met with a firm resistance. The bravery of the citizens was rewarded by the dispersion of their assailants: their cannon were taken, and one hundred of their gallow-

glasses slain. Lord Thomas, hardly escaping, passed the night concealed in the Grey Friar's house, in Francis Street, and at the dawn of morning returned to the camp, from whence he dispatched an emissary, proposing terms to the citizens:—first, that they should release his men; secondly, that they should procure pardon for him and his confederates; finally, that they should supply him with money, ammunition, and artillery.

While the pestilence ravaged Dublin, many children had been removed into the country;—Lord Thomas discovered them, and they were put into a place of confinement. He now offered to release the children on condition of his terms being complied with. They would not yield all he demanded, and the young lord was compelled to submit.

The citizens had entreated assistance from England, which came under the conduct of Sir William Brereton and Sir William Skeffington, who was again made deputy. They landed their troops, and entered the city amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants.

Yet the result was not what might have been expected. The health of the deputy was too infirm for exertion; and while he remained inactive in Dublin, Lord Thomas placed garrisons in his castles of Maynooth, Rathangan, Portlester, Carlow, Leix, and Athy. His rabble followers increased to a great army.

1535. Sir William Brereton laid siege to Maynooth, which at this time was considered one of the best supplied castles in Ireland. The garrison held out for fourteen days, and would not have submitted but for

the treachery of the governor, who took a bribe, and betrayed his trust to the enemy.

The fatal intelligence of its surrender put an end to the hopes of the rebels. The first discharge of the English artillery dispersed the whole of Lord Thomas's force, and left him a deserted outlaw. Lord Leonard Grey, one of the deputy's officers, pursued the wretched fugitive into Munster, where he was persuaded to accompany Lord Grey to Dublin, unattended. From thence he proceeded to London, in full confidence that he could obtain the king's pardon by proper submission. His five uncles also surrendered themselves to Lord Grey, and were sent to England under the same fallacious hope of Henry's forgiveness; but they were all executed at Tyburn. Lord Thomas, when committed to the Tower, learned that his father had not, as he was told, been beheaded, but had died broken-hearted at hearing of his rash rebellion. This horrible execution took place on the 3rd of February, 1536. The king's wish was to destroy every branch of this obnoxious race; but two sons of Gerald, Earl of Kildare, whose mother was the Lady Elizabeth Grey, escaped his vengeance,—Gerald, in his thirteenth year, and Edward, in his ninth; the latter was kept in concealment in England by the Suffolk family.

The young Gerald Fitz-Gerald was conveyed, in some mysterious manner, by his tutor, Thomas Leverous, afterwards Bishop of Kildare, first to his sister, Lady Mary O'Connor, of Ophally, and afterwards to his aunt Eleanor, the widow of Mac Arthy Reagh, Prince of Carbery. In the hope of securing better protection for

her nephew than she could afford him, she married O'Donnel, the chief of Tyrconnel; but upon discovering that he was about to deliver him up to the English government, she sent him with his tutor to the King of France. Henry having required that the boy should be delivered up as a rebel, Francis I. favoured his escape to Flanders. The emperor also protected him, when the like demand was made; and thus he was followed and persecuted from place to place, until his uncle, Cardinal Pole, removed him to his palace at Rome, where he resided three years. The whole of his conduct did honour to his high descent. He had many removals and hair-breadth escapes. One day, while hunting with Cardinal Farnese, his horse fell into a deep chasm, and was killed. The youth saved himself by laying hold on branches of trees and other projections in the descent, until he alighted upon the body of his horse, where he lay unhurt for three hours, and probably would have perished, had not his favourite dog, by his piteous howling on the brink of the precipice, attracted the attention of some persons who extricated the young earl from his perilous situation.*

The Reformation had as yet made no progress in Ireland. Henry was not a person to recommend it. He

* His life was thus providentially preserved for the restoration of his family. After the death of Henry VIII., young Gerald came to England, where he was well received by Edward VI., who conferred on him the honour of knighthood, together with a part of his family honours. His manners and appearance were so prepossessing as to obtain for him in marriage the daughter of Sir Anthony Browne, a knight of the garter. We do not hear that he returned to his native country until the reign of Mary, who restored to him all his father's estates.

began by the suppression of monasteries; and condemned those who denied his supremacy as guilty of treason. He possessed absolute power more than any prince in Europe—that of the pope, in his own capital, was not greater. He was so far from favouring protestant principles, that he consigned several to martyrdom who adhered to them. Many were thrown into prison for teaching their children the Lord's prayer in English, or for harbouring the persecuted preachers. Soundness of doctrines ought not to be judged of from the lives of professors: we must, therefore, view the hand of God, not of Henry VIII., in his instrumentality in the great work of the Reformation. The most important resolution which he made, was that of allowing the laity to have the Bible in the English language. The king's intention was to let the people see that there was nothing in the Holy Scriptures contrary to his opposition to the pope: but Cranmer, Cromwell, and the rest of the reformers had greater things in view. They had hopes that the Bible would convince the people of many essential errors in popery, which Henry was obstinately bent upon maintaining; hence they took care to conceal from him their real motive, and happily succeeded in obtaining a good translation, which the king was pleased to take upon himself. In three years this important work was accomplished; and proved, as was expected, a great means of forwarding the Reformation.

Henry thought himself the first theologian in the world, yet he invited over Melancthon, Bucer, Sturmius, Draco, and others, to confer with him and instruct him in their tenets; but the German princes would

not part with them; which refusal the king did not much regard.

The discoveries made in consequence of the detection of Elizabeth Barton, the maid of Kent, and her associates, led to the investigation and destruction of a great number of the monasteries in England. Henry issued orders that they should be visited; and appointed Thomas Cromwell, Visitor-General, with substitutes or commissioners.* The account of the visitation was published, and such scenes exhibited as are quite unfit to be mentioned in this historical summary. Yet Henry's object was not the suppression of vice, he was too much under its influence himself to make that an important consideration.

As he made it a pretence for destroying the monasteries, and confiscating to his own use the immense property which belonged to them, he anticipated as little difficulty in reconciling the Irish to his wishes as he had with the English, but he found a material difference. They were so strongly imbued with the notion that "Ireland was a fief of the Pope, in right of the church of St. Peter, by virtue of which the seignory of the kingdom had been conferred on Henry II., that it would be profane and damnable to deny the authority of the Pope in his own inheritance." Hence Henry's resolution to establish his supremacy over the church of Ireland met with the most determined opposition, not merely from the natives, but from the Anglo-Irish also.

George Browne, Provincial of the Friars of St. Au-

gustine, by means of the visitor-general, was promoted to the see of Dublin. His preaching and holy living had been noted in London. His religious opinions were those of the reformers; in his sermons he reprobated, as altogether futile, both pilgrimages and penances; as also any dependance upon the merits or intercession of departed saints; at the same time exhorting his hearers to rely solely on the merits of Jesus, and to address their prayers immediately to God.*

His commission in Ireland was not likely to gain the good will of the people. Although they had severely felt the oppressions of the clergy, there were others which fell more grievously upon them: they did not enjoy the liberties or privileges of English subjects—union and pacification would have prepared them for a reformation in religion. But, in blind and stupid ignorance, they now adhered to that which the English first established amongst them. Cromer, the primate of Armagh, pronounced a tremendous anathema against all those who acknowledged the king's supremacy; and despatched two emissaries to Rome to represent the danger to which the Church was exposed, and to intreat the pope's interposition to defend his own rights and interests in Ireland.

The indifference and neglect with which the king's commission was treated was represented to the English government by Archbishop Browne, who proposed that it should be enforced, as it had been in England, by act of parliament, which advice was followed.

* Leland.

May 1st, 1536, Lord Leonard Grey assembled a parliament, by which Henry VIII. was made head over the church of Ireland, as he had been in England, and all connection with Rome was utterly prohibited. The first-fruits of all ecclesiastical benefices were vested in the king; and by one act twelve monasteries were suppressed. At the same time "other laws were enacted, which prohibited the payment of pensions to the Irish, or fostering, or marrying with them. It was decreed that schools should be opened in every parish, and that all who could not pay for the education of their children should have them taught some useful trade; or that they should be inured to habits of industry, husbandry," &c.

Part of the enactment runs thus—"The king's majestie, our most gracious and most redoubted lord, pre-pending and waying by his great wisdom, learning, and experience, how much it doth confer to the induction of rude and ignorant people to the knowledge of Almighty God, and what they owe their princes and superiors, than a good instruction in his most blessed laws, with a conformitie in language, apparel, &c. with them that be civil people, and do profess and acknowledge Christ's religion. His majestie doth hereby intimate, that who-soever shall, for any respect, at any time, decline from the order of this law, touching the increase of the English tongue, or suffer any within his family or rule to use the Irish habit, &c. &c., his majestie will repute them in his most noble heart, as persons that esteeme not his most dread laws and commands, and, whatever they may pretend to be, persons of another *sort* than becometh true and faithful subjects : wherefore be it enacted from

the 1st May, that no person shall be shorn about the ears, or use the wearing of hair upon their heads, like unto long locks and glibbes, or have any hair upon their upper lipps, called a crommeal, or wear any shirt, smock, kerchor, linnen cap, &c. &c. dyed with saffron, nor yet use in any shirt above seven yards of cloth,* according to the king's standard; and that no women wear any kyrtle or cote tucked up or embroidered, &c. with silk, or cocked with uskar, after Irish fashion. Any persons of what estate, condition, or degree they be, wearing contrary to the form above recited, shall forfeit the thing so worn; and it shall be lawful for every true subject to seize the same, and the offender, for every time, shall forfeit such penalties and sommes of money as hereafter be limited and appointed."

"And be it enacted, that every person shall, to the utmost of his power, knowledge, &c., use and speak commonly the English tongue, according to his abilitie, cunning, &c., and having children shall cause and procure them to speak and use it; and according to his abilitie shall bring up and keep said children in such places where they shall have occasion to learn the English tongue, language, order, condition, &c. Penalty £5, and imprisonment."

Henry's aim was not to dethrone popery, but to make himself a pope. The Irish were determined to resist this unlawful usurpation, and joined themselves with the discontented English lords, in defence of the

* "Noblemen were permitted to put no more than twenty cubits or bundles of linen in their shirts."

Roman pontiff. Lord Leonard Grey took active measures to repress the rising storm. He compelled the refractory chieftains in Leinster to renew their engagements to government. James, Earl of Desmond, took the oath of allegiance at his camp near Clonmel, and delivered up a hostage as a pledge of fidelity; but from Desmond's great antagonists, the Butlers, the deputy found a formidable resistance. Both the Earl of Ormond and his son joined the opposition, and, in consequence, their lands were devastated by order of the deputy. And although afterwards the Irish council effected a formal reconciliation, the Butlers united with the partisans of Rome to bring about the ruin of Lord Leonard Grey.

Archbishop Browne was so much opposed by the clergy, that he found great difficulty in removing images from the churches to substitute the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments. Many of the dioceses of Dublin parted with their benefices rather than take the oath of supremacy which was forced upon them.

Active emissaries from the Pope excited the northern chieftains to arms. On the 24th of June, 1538, Thaddeus Byrne, a Franciscan friar, was arrested in Dublin. A letter was found upon his person addressed to O'Neil, from whence the following is taken :—

“My son O'Neil,

“Thou and thy father were ever faithful to the mother church of Rome. His holiness Paul, the present Pope, and his council of holy fathers, have lately found an ancient prophecy of one St. Lazerianus, an Irish

Archbishop of Cashel. It saith, that the church of Rome shall surely fall when the Catholic faith is overthrown in Ireland. Therefore, for the glory of the mother church, the honour of St. Peter, and your own security, suppress heresy, and oppose the enemies of his holiness.

“ Having thus obeyed the order of the sacred council, we recommend your princely person to the protection of the Holy Trinity, of the blessed Virgin, of St. Peter, St. Paul, and all the host of heaven. Amen.”

O'Neil, in the belief that the defence of the holy church was committed to him, harangued the chieftains of Ulster, commanding them, as their chief, to unite in defence of their religion. At the head of these northern bands, whom he led through the territories of Meath, he denounced vengeance against the enemies of popery; and committed many lawless excesses without control. In the mean-time the deputy was not idle; he made vigorous exertions to collect an army, and was zealously supported by the citizens of Dublin and Drogheda. At his request a detachment of troops, under Sir William Brereton, was again sent from England. This army encountered O'Neil, in his retreat, at Bellahoe, on the borders of Meath. His troops were numerous and advantageously posted for the defence of a passage over a river in front, which they were resolutely determined on preventing the English from crossing; who, being determined to cross or perish, with undaunted courage rushed through the stream, and on the opposite bank, made a furious attack on the enemy. An obstinate

conflict was maintained, until the Irish leader, Magennis, was killed, and the panic-struck troops fled with precipitation. This victory broke the power of the northern chieftains ; yet Lord Grey was immediately recalled to England. His unexpected summons is supposed to have originated in the secret, malicious machinations of his enemies; for though the king at first received him kindly, he was afterwards committed to the Tower, under charges made against him in Ireland, and was tried for high treason. There were many useful services performed by this nobleman which he might have pleaded in his own justification, but he knew the vindictive character of Henry, and made no attempt to exculpate himself. He asked for mercy from him who had no mercy; hence he was led to the scaffold and beheaded.

After the removal of this efficient governor, the disaffected northerners were joined by the chieftains of Meath in another attempt to shake off the English yoke, but they were powerfully assailed by Sir W. Brereton, who now occupied the deputy's post, and they were driven into woods and other places of shelter. At length, finding that every attempt to support papal jurisdiction had failed, they abandoned the cause, with solicitations for peace ; and numbers of monasteries were given up to the king. Morrough O'Brien, Lord of Thomond, who had been engaged in the insurrection, was one of the foremost in seeking to atone for his revolt by submission. The refractory Prior of Christ Church, in Dublin, followed his example, and consented to change his community into that of a Dean and Chapter. The Earl of Desmond abjured the pope's

authority, and sent his favourite son to the lord-deputy, to be educated in the English manner ; at the same time, entering into engagements to serve the government, he associated himself with the Earl of Ormond and other distinguished subjects of the crown. Other lords, of English race, did the same, and all seemed prosperous for the newly appointed Governor, Sir Anthony St. Leger, by whom a parliament was held in 1541, and an act passed, with general approbation, which proclaimed Henry King of Ireland, instead of the title hitherto assumed by the English monarchs, of Lords of Ireland. The proclamation of this act was in the following form :—“ Forasmuch as the hearts of all godly, natural, reasonable, and civil creatures, be kindled with love and joy, when they hear of the prosperity, triumph, and advancement of their natural sovereign liege lord, —honourable assembly, ye shall understand, that the triumph shewed here this day, is done principally to give thanks to God, for his great benefits shewed to our noble and victorious king, Henry VIII., and to deliver our own gladness and joy that his majesty is now, as he hath always of right been, acknowledged by the nobility and commons of this his realm of Ireland, to be king of the same ; and he and his heirs to be named, reputed, and taken for evermore, Kings of Ireland, most worthy under God.” Then follows an announcement of a jail delivery ; and the proclamation closes—“ God save the king’s majesty, King Henry VIII., King of England, Ireland, and France, Defender of the Faith, and, in earth, Supreme Head of the Church of England and Ireland.”

The joy manifested on this occasion was, apparently, universal. On the following Sunday, a procession of lords and gentlemen went to St. Patrick's Cathedral, where the proclamation was read, and the *Te Deum* sung.

Henry, who ascribed this rapid progress in the Reformation virtually to his own consummate wisdom, was still further flattered by the appearance of several of the Irish lords at the court of England. They had received advice from the lord-deputy to proceed thither, in order to hold a personal conference with their king, as a means of conciliating him, by testifying their reverence and attachment. The Earl of Desmond presented himself before the sovereign with declarations of loyalty and obedience: he was graciously received, and dismissed with an order to be admitted into the Irish council. Ulick de Burgo, called Mac William,* was received by the king with every mark of reconciliation, and with the distinction due to his noble descent. Morrough O'Brien presented himself at the same time, and was also honourably received, as head of the royal house of Thomond. Mac William was created Earl of Clanricarde and Baron of Dunkellen; O'Brien was made Earl of Thomond and Baron of Inchequin. The earldom was limited to his son Connor, who, by another patent, was created Baron of Ibracken. These lords had followed the example of O'Neil, who had preceded them at court, and whose favourable reception from Henry encouraged them to hope for the same. O'Neil, in making submission, consented to the resignation of

* Afterwards Fitz-William.

the style and name of O'Neil, at the same time promising, that he, his family and followers, should henceforward conform to English manners, learn the English language, and wear English garments, and also be obedient to the English laws. In return for these concessions, Henry made him a peer of the kingdom of Ireland, creating him Earl of Tyrone. By the same patent, his son Matthew, to whom the earldom was to descend, was created Baron of Dungannon. Two gentlemen of his retinue received the honour of knighthood. The Bishop of Clogher, who accompanied O'Neil, on resigning the pope's bulls, and renouncing his authority, was confirmed in his see. The king made presents to all, and gave a chain of gold to the new earl, in confirmation of perfect peace between them. The ceremony took place at Greenwich, in the queen's closet, which was richly hung with arras, and plentifully "strewn with rushes for this purpose." The king granted to each of the new earls a house and lands near Dublin, to facilitate their attendance on the deputy and parliament.

Desmond, "the noblest man in all the realm," requested that the king would give him robes to wear in parliament: and not only that, but apparel for daily use, of which he had "great lack." This information was stated by St. Leger, who had himself provided the earl with a gown, jacket, doublet, hose, and other habiliments, for which he was very thankful, and which he always wore when he accompanied the lord-deputy. Other chieftains made like applications for parliament-robes and clothing, which were supplied. These lords

had impoverished themselves by continual warfare. Two of the Geraldines of Munster, the Lord Roche and the White Knight, had wasted each other's territories, and carried their contentions to such extremities as to rouse the attention of the king, who commanded both to be arrested. This order being executed, they were imprisoned in Dublin Castle. The lord-deputy gives the following curious account of their conduct to each other, in a letter to the king:—"They now agree very well together, lying both in one bed; although, before, they could not agree in a country of forty miles between them." . . . "I purpose they shall there remain till their amity be better confirmed, and then, God willing, I intend to send them home free, apparelled like Englishmen: for, at present, they are in their saffron shirts and kernoghe's coats."

O'Neil was a great lord, yet could not subscribe his name to his act of submission, which was signed with his mark, as was also Mac Gilpatrick's. Such was the state of education, in those days, in Ireland. Their hereditary possessions were continued to them, and confirmed by a patent, to be held of the king by military service: but the subordinate chieftains were still left in a state of dependence on the higher powers, a grievance which government had undertaken to redress. They were left to their former tenures, and to defend their possessions as they might; consequently. Irish vassalage, with all its local contests, feuds, and disorders, was still maintained, and the accustomed course of Brehon law exercised. "Such was the timid and illiberal policy which at this time prevailed in the

administration of the affairs of Ireland, that the petitions of the old natives to be governed by the English laws, were, in some instances, neglected or denied. The chieftain, O'Byrne, whose sept had for many ages harassed even the capital of the kingdom, but who had lately sworn allegiance, earnestly desired that his territory should be converted into an English county, by the name of Wicklow; but could not, by the merit of his submission, obtain attention to a request apparently so reasonable." * Other instances are adduced of similar inattention. The inhabitants of Munster were still ignorant and refractory, so that no justice dared execute his commission among them. Connaught, Ulster, and a great part of Leinster, were abandoned to the Irish polity. Government was too weak, or too cautious, to enforce the acts of state or laws of parliament. Sir John Davies gives the following instance:—"The abbies and religious houses in Tirone, Tirconnel, and Fermanagh, though they were dissolved in the thirty-third year of Henry VIII., were never surveyed, nor reduced into charge, but were continually possessed by the religious persons." Until the reign of James I. no change was effected.

The Reformation, however, made some progress; and peace, that unusual event, prevailed throughout Ireland, which the inhabitants were so willing to maintain, that they would not be influenced to a revolt by Francis I., who sent his emissary to the chieftain of Tyrconnel, hoping to instigate him to rebel against Henry. Instead

* Leland.

of aiding the King of France, they sent out an armed force, who attended the King of England to Calais, and distinguished themselves by their undaunted bravery. They astonished and terrified the enemy, who were unaccustomed to such warfare as the Irish were trained to, in the agility with which they traversed the country, their ferocity, and amazing intrepidity.

1537. The Irish tongue was almost universally prevalent. A parliamentary statute then passed, which enacted that,—“If any spiritual promotion within this land at any time become void, such as have title to nominate, shall nominate to the same such a person as can speak English, and *none other*, unless there can be no person as can speak English will accept it; and if the patron cannot, within *three months*, get any such person that can speak English, then he shall cause *four* proclamations to be openly made, on four several market-days, in the next market-town adjoining to the said spiritual promotion, that if any fit person, that can speak English, will come and take the same, he shall have it; and if none come within five weeks after the first proclamation, then the patron may present any honest, able man, albeit he cannot speak English.”

By the next clause of the same act—“Should the patron have nominated a native, who could not speak English, contrary to the form here prescribed, the nomination was void,—when the king presented: and should ‘the king be interrupted, he shall have a *quare impedit* against the disturber.’ Nay, should the king present a man contrary to the form, the presentation was void, and reverted to the patron. After all this, in the event

of a native being the only person to be found and appointed, it was under an oath that he ‘endeavour himself to learn the English tongue and language, if he may learn and attain the same by possibility.’ And another oath, ‘that he shall, to his wit and cunning, endeavour himself to learn and teach the English tongue to all under his governance ; and shall preach the word of God in English, *if he can preach.*’ The ecclesiastic appointing any one, contrary to this form, to forfeit, for every time, £3. 6s. 8d., one moiety to the king, the other to the pursuer : and every incumbent, for the first offence, 6s. 8d. ; for the second, 20s. ; and for the third, his promotion itself !”

It appears that until the reign of James I. every literary remain of the old Irish, that could be found, was sought out, in order to destroy or conceal it.*

During the reign of Henry VIII. theatrical entertainments were introduced into Ireland; a stage was erected in Hoggin Green (now College Green), where the members of the different guilds, or corporations, of Dublin, were the first actors, during the Christmas holidays, in 1528; and a new play was performed every day. The tailors represented Adam and Eve ; the shoemakers, Crispin and Crispiana ; the vintners, Bacchus ; the smiths, Vulcan ; the carpenters, Joseph and Mary ; and the bakers acted the comedy of Ceres: the Priors of St. John of Jerusalem and all Hallows, at the same time, caused two plays to be acted, the one representing the Passion of our Saviour, the other, the Martyr-

* Webb's *Analysis*. P. 121. Dublin, 1791.

doms of the Apostles.—Thus were sacred and profane things jumbled together in these semi-heathen, semi-barbarous times.

When Henry was proclaimed King of Ireland, all the lords, in their parliament robes, passed through the streets in grand procession. “The Nine Worthies” was played; and tournaments, and running at the ring with spears, on horseback, were exhibited.

In an “Historical Essay on the Irish Stage,” by J. C. Walker, Esq., Member of the Royal Irish Academy, he says, that no vestige has yet been discovered of the drama amongst the remains of the Irish bards, or amongst the amusements of the lower orders in these days, except the awkward attempts at comedy made by the vulgar Irish at their weddings and wakes. However, these can never be said to exhibit the slightest vestige of an ancient regular drama. Their performances vary in name and character; they are called,—The Cottoning of Frize;—The Marriage Act;—The Servants Serving their Lord at Table;—The fulling or thickening of Cloth: and Sir Sop or Sir Sopin, the Knight of Straw, which is evidently intended as a representation of an Englishman.

The principal characters are an Irish chieftain, who assumes the name and title of one of the principal Irish families in the neighbourhood, and his competitor, Sir Sop—the English chieftain is dressed in straw, with a clogad or helmet of straw on his head.

The Irish chieftain is habited in the best manner that can be procured by the rustic audience. These two characters appear on the stage, each attended with a retinue, who stand at a respectful distance while their

lords are in conference. Sometimes, however, they are permitted to take part in the dialogue, which is interspersed with humorous songs, dances, and soliloquies.

At length an altercation takes place which terminates in single combat.

Sir Sopin wounds his antagonist, who falls; a surgeon comes in and examines the wound, it is but slight—the chieftain revives, he starts up and retires: Sir Sopin follows him. In a few minutes they return, renew the combat, and Sir Sopin falls mortally wounded: he is borne off the stage, which the exulting conqueror traverses, offering up thanks for his great victory.

The dances of the vulgar Irish discover the features of a rude ballet, performed in honour of some pagan deity. In an ancient description of Tamer Hall, royal mimics or comedians are expressly mentioned.*

The following record was found among the MSS. of Robert Ware. “Thomas Fitz-Gerald, Earl of Kildare, and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in the year 1528, was invited to a new play every day in Christmas; Arland Usher, being then mayor, and Francis Herbert and John Squire, bailiffs.” This is the first record of such representations in Ireland, from which it may be inferred, that dramatic entertainments were exhibited there before that period. From the entries in the “Chain-book of Dublin,” it is found that the corporations usually supplied performers, the dresses, machinery, and scenery, —“1st, For the pageant of St. George, it was ordered, that the mayor of the foregoing year should find the

* *Collect. De. Reb. Hib.* Vol. iii. p. 531.

emperor and empress, with their train and followers, well apparelled and accoutred ; the emperor attended by two doctors ; and the empress by two knights, and two maidens, richly apparelled, to bear up her train.

“ 2ndly, The mayor for the time being was to provide a horse for St. George ; the wardens were to pay his wages for that day, 3s 4d.; the bailiffs were to find four horses, with men, well apparelled, bearing the pole-axe, the standard, and the several swords of the emperor and St. George.

“ 3rdly, The elder master of the guild was to find a maiden, well attired, to lead the dragon; and the clerk of the market was to provide a golden line for the dragon.” &c. &c.

“ St. George’s chapel was to be well hung in black, and completely apparelled to every purpose; and provided with cushions, rushes, and other necessities, for the festivity of that day.”

The record further states—“ No less was the preparation of pageants for the procession of Corpus Christi days; on which, the glovers were to represent Adam and Eve, with an angel bearing a sword before them”—“ the corrisees (probably curriers) were to represent Cain and Abel, with an altar and their offering”—“ mariners and vintners, Noah and the persons in his ark, apparelled in the habits of carpenters and salmon-takers.”

“ The weavers personated Abraham and Isaac, with their offering and altar.”

“ The smiths represented Pharoah with his host.”

“ The skinners, the camel with the children of Israel.” &c. &c.

“All these pageants moved in solemn procession to St. George’s chapel, which was the scene of these dramatic exhibitions.” It stood in St. George’s Lane (now St. George’s Street, south), from whence the name is derived; not a trace of the building remains, which Stanihurst supposes had been founded by some worthy knight of the garter, and thus bewails its fate:—“This chappell hath beene of late razed, and the stones thereof, by consent of the assemblie, turned to a common oven, converting the ancient monument of a doutie, adventurous, and holie knight, to the colerake sweeping of a pufloafe baker.”

“The memory of the pageants was kept up in the franchises, that rode triennially in Dublin, till the year 1772, when they were abolished by the lord mayor’s proclamation.”*

* *Ann. Reg.* Vol. xxxi., pp. 110, 111, 112.

CHAPTER VII.

Accession of Edward VI.—Bellingham's Good Government of Ireland—Neglect of Religious Instruction—Character of the Jesuits—Character of Archbishop Browne—Disputes on Religion—The English Liturgy read in Christ Church—Bishop Bale—Violent Opposer of Popery—Dissensions in Ulster among the O'Neils—Death of Edward—Mary Proclaimed—Bale's account of the Re-establishment of Popery—Expulsion of the Protestant Clergy—Sixteenth Lord of Kerry—Meeting of Parliament—Earl of Sussex, Lord-Lieutenant—Shane O'Neil's Defeat—Character and Death of Queen Mary.

1547. ON the accession of Edward VI., Sir Anthony St. Leger was Viceroy of Ireland. Finding the exchequer quite exhausted, he proposed some plans for laying on taxes, which were strenuously opposed by the Earl of Ormond. Their disputes rose to such a height as to require the authority of the sovereign, by whose interposition the parties were reconciled.

Leinster was much disturbed by the chieftains, O'Moore and O'Connor, who took up arms under pretence of injuries received. Sir Edward Bellingham, an experienced and able officer, was sent from England to support the Irish government. His exertions were successful in the dispersion of this petty commotion.

The lands of the rebel lords were ravaged, and themselves denounced as traitors. Afterwards, being found by some English officers, in their retreat, they were persuaded to follow the example of O'Neil, by submitting. The advice was treacherously given; O'Moore and O'Connor fell into the snare; were committed to prison; and their lands being forfeited, were given to their betrayers.

Bellingham's services were rewarded with the deputyship. He tried to conciliate the Irish and the English lords, whose contentions among themselves were endless. The Earl of Desmond had retired to his own territory, and lived, as he had formerly done, independent of all authority but his own. Bellingham, anxious to induce the disaffected lords to reside at the seat of government, in order that he might have his eye upon them, summoned Desmond to Dublin; he refused to come; the deputy, instead of using any means to compel him, unexpectedly, and nearly unattended, entered his house, in Munster, as a friendly visitor; by kind expostulations, he gained the good will and confidence of the earl, who not only accompanied him to Dublin, but consented to make that city his residence. The society and example of Bellingham had the desired effect upon Desmond: his roughness was smoothed down, and his mind became impressed with the great importance of the duties of life, social and political. He felt his obligations to the deputy, for whom he offered up daily prayer, calling him "the good Bellingham." This excellent governor benefited the country too much to be allowed to remain.

1550. On the reappointment of Sir Anthony St. Leger, as deputy, he was commissioned to convene a parliament in Ireland. The people of England had gone beyond their governors in throwing off the shackles of popery. In Ireland this was not the case; a prolonged state of warfare and commotion had occupied the minds of the people, and prevented the growth of true religion. They had no time for meditation on this deep and all-important subject, while they were continually embroiled in contests. In grasping after the things of time—the things of eternity were disregarded. Those who had consented to the Reformation, did so without much considering what change it would produce. But they were roused from their apathy by the thunders of Rome against heresy and innovation.

No pains had been taken to enlighten their understanding, which criminal neglect is noticed by Sir Thomas Cusack, the Chancellor of Ireland; in a letter to the Duke of Northumberland, he says,—“Hard it is that men should know their duties to God and to the king, when they shall not hear teaching or preaching throughout the year.” Again, he says, “preaching we have none,—which is our lack: without which the ignorant can have no knowledge.” Numbers of the clergy had abandoned their cures rather than renounce papal authority, and it does not appear that any active, zealous missionaries, from England, were sent over to supply their place: without this, the destruction of images and relics was of no avail. The great obstacle to the diffusion of light among the people was, the difference of language. Even by the inhabitants of the

Pale, Irish was universally spoken, contrary to the laws, repeatedly enacted, to suppress that language. With such a bar to instruction, if English pastors had been appointed, what could they have done among the natives while active agents from Rome were among them, belonging to their own kindred, and speaking in their own tongue? In the parts of the kingdom most remote from the English government, prelates were still being nominated by the pope, and some, appointed by the king, were opposed by those of papal provision.*

Dr. George Browne, Archbishop of Dublin, in a sermon which he preached in Christ Church, in 1551, thus admirably describes the character and spirit of the Jesuits, in what may be deemed a kind of prophecy:—so unchanged are they to this hour.

“There are a new fraternity of late sprung up, who call themselves *Jesuits*,—which will deceive many,—who are much after the Scribes’ and Pharisees’ manner. Amongst the Jews they shall strive to abolish the truth, and shall come very near to do it. For these sorts will turn themselves into several forms;—with the heathens a heathenist, with the Atheists an Atheist, with the Jews a Jew, with the Reformers a Reformade:—purposely to know your intentions, your minds, your hearts, and your inclinations,—and thereby bring you at last to be like the fool who said in his heart—‘there was no God.’ These shall spread over the world; shall be admitted into the councils of princes, and they be never

* “In 1584, John Lynch, Bishop of Elphin, lived a concealed papist,—and at his death made it known publicly.”

the wiser;—charming of them,—yea, making the princes reveal their hearts, and the secrets therein, unto them,—and yet they not perceive it: which will happen from falling from the law of God, by neglecting the law of God, and by winking at their sins;—yet, in the end, God, to justify his law, shall suddenly cut off this society, even by the hands of those who have most succoured them, and made use of them:—so that, at the end, they shall become odious to all nations. They shall be worse than Jews—having no resting-place upon the earth; and then shall a Jew have more favour than a Jesuit.”

This extract is given in a note to “Mosheim’s Ecclesiastical History,” by Dr. Maclaine: a copy of which was given to Sir James Ware, and may be found in the “Harleian Miscellany.” Vol. v., p. 556.

At the conclusion of the extract, the editor adds:—“This singular passage, I had almost said prediction, seems to be accomplished, in part, by the present suppression of the Jesuits in France (I write this note in the year 1762), and by the great indignation which the perfidious stratagems, iniquitous avarice, and ambitious views of that society, have excited among all orders of the French nation, from the throne to the cottage.”

Primate Usher, in his “Ecclesiastical Affairs of Ireland,” gives the following character of Archbishop Browne:—“George Browne was a man of a cheerful countenance,—in his acts and deeds plain, downright;—to the poor merciful and compassionate:—pitying the state and condition of the souls of the people, and advising them, when he was Provincial of the Augustine

order in England, to make their application solely to Christ: which advice coming to the ears of Henry VIII., he became a favourite, and was made Archbishop of Dublin. Within five years, after he enjoyed that see, he caused all superstitious relics and images to be removed out of the two cathedrals in Dublin, and out of all the churches in his diocese; and caused the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed, to be placed, in gilded frames, about the altars. He was the first that turned from the Romish religion, of the clergy here in Ireland, to embrace the Reformation of the Church of England." *

On the death of Cromer, Archbishop of Armagh, Robert Waucop was nominated to that see by the pope; but George Dowdall, a native of Ireland, was preferred to it by Henry VIII. He was a determined opposer of protestantism, and treated the new liturgy with contempt.

Sir Anthony St. Leger called an assembly of the clergy, March 1, 1551, to whom he made known the king's royal will and pleasure, that the Scriptures and English Church Liturgy should be read in all parish churches within his dominions: Archbishop Dowdall opposed this, saying "Then shall every illiterate fellow read mass!" To which the lord deputy answered, "No, your grace is mistaken; for we have too many illiterate priests amongst us already, who neither can pronounce the Latin, nor know what it means, no more than the common people that hear them; but when the people

* See a very curious pamphlet in the *Harleian Miscellany*, entitled, "*Historical Collections of the Church of Ireland.*"—Mosheim.

hear the Liturgy in English, they and the priest will then understand what they pray for." The primate, in reply, cautioned the viceroy to "beware of the clergy's curse." "I fear no strange curse," retorted he, "so long as I have the blessing of that church which I believe to be the true one." Dowdall demanded, "Can there be a truer church than the church of St. Peter, the mother church of Rome?" The lord-deputy replied, "I thought we had all been of the church of Christ; for Christ calls all true believers in him *His Church*, and himself the head thereof." "And is not St. Peter the church of Christ?" enquired the archbishop. The lord-deputy answered, "St. Peter was a member of Christ's church; but the church was not St. Peter's; neither was St. Peter, but Christ, the head thereof." Then the Primate of Armagh rose up, and several of the suffragan bishops under his jurisdiction.

Sir Anthony presented the order to the Archbishop of Dublin, who, standing up to receive it, said, "This order, good brethren, is from our gracious king, and from the rest of our brethren, the fathers and clergy of England, who have consulted herein, and compared the holy scriptures with what they have done; unto whom I submit, as our Lord himself did to Cæsar, in all things just and lawful."

Several of the bishops and clergy united with Archbishop Browne; amongst whom were Edward Staples, Bishop of Meath; Lancaster, of Kildare; Travers, of Leighlin; and Coyne, of Limerick.

On the Easter Sunday following, the English Church

Liturgy was read, for the first time, in Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, the deputy, magistrates and clergy being present.*

The Liturgy was soon afterwards printed by Humphry Powell, and was the first book that was printed in Ireland. The printing of the Bible quickly followed, and the edition was bought up so rapidly, that a bookseller in Dublin called John Dele, is reported to have sold seven thousand copies in two years. In the two cathedrals there were large Bibles fastened with chains to pillars, and every one who pleased had liberty to read; very many of the poorer classes availed themselves of the privilege.†

But these must have been English readers. The Irish could have had no such opportunity: they were thoroughly prejudiced against the Reformation—the whole conduct of the commissioners contributed to their disgust. They saw their churches rifled, and all their decorations and furniture exposed to sale; they saw the garrison of Athlone, like lawless plunderers, issuing forth for the destruction of their venerated Clonmacnoise; its ornaments torn down, its bells, books, windows, plate, and all the valuables it contained, rapaciously carried off, and the shrine of their beloved saint, Kiernan, laid waste. This was not by order of government: Sir James Crofts, who succeeded St. Leger, had received instructions to prevent the sale of bells, furniture, &c., belonging to the churches.

The Archbishop of Armagh had retired to the abbey

* M'Gregor.

† M'Gregor.

of St. Mary, near Dublin, which he chose for the place of his residence, refusing all intercourse with the clergy who had conformed to the new system, Sir James Crofts, who was a zealous protestant, wrote a letter to the primate, in which he reminded him of the scriptural exhortation to submit to the powers that be, and of the example of Christ himself to this effect. He invited him to appoint a place in which to hold a conference, in order to arrange matters in such a way as to prevent the necessity of adopting severe measures. Dowdall accepted the proposal, with a firm determination to uphold the religion of Rome, and to oppose every thing contrary to it. The conference took place in the great hall of Mary's Abbey, where the whole body of the clergy were assembled. A theological discussion was carried on in the usual way, and ended with the usual consequences—each party claiming the victory, and each party more violent than heretofore against their opposers. The only means which the deputy had power to exert in subduing the arrogance of the primate, was to lower his rank. Instead of being primate of all Ireland, his see was now made subordinate to that of Dublin. By the king's patent, Armagh was deprived of its superiority,* which was transferred to Dublin. Dowdall, not being able to bear this degradation, forsook his diocese and retired to the continent. He could not have taken a more impolitic step; by absenting himself, he deprived his adherents of a leader who was high in

* There had long been a competition between the sees of Armagh and Dublin for pre-eminence.

office, and had on his side nearly the whole of the population. His flight, at such a time, was taken for a renunciation of his see—to which a successor was appointed. The new order of consecration had not been established by parliament in Ireland, and, as the people were prejudiced against it, Lockwood, Dean of Christ Church, deemed it more expedient to use the Romish ritual on this occasion. Goodacre, the new prelate of Armagh, was of the same opinion, and all the clergy seemed willing to acquiesce, except Bale, who had been nominated to the see of Ossory,—he resolutely refused to be consecrated but by the Reformed ritual.

Bale was a native of Cove, in Suffolk, educated among the Carmelites, at Norwich, and removed to Jesus College, Cambridge. After his conversion, he drew upon himself the resentment of the Romish priests, from whose persecutions he fled to Holland, where he remained six years, and was then recalled and promoted to a living in Hampshire, by Edward VI., who now raised him to the bishoprick of Ossory. While in Holland, he composed some excellent works in English, but the most esteemed of his writings is, “An Account, in Latin, of the Best English Authors,” of whose names it contained a record of three thousand six hundred and eighteen years, *i. e.* from Japhet to 1557.

When Edward expressed his pleasure that Bale should fill the vacant see of Ossory, he would have excused himself from undertaking this arduous office,—and pleaded his poverty, advanced age, and ill-health:—but all his objections were overruled, and he was constrained to accompany Goodacre to Ireland. At the commence-

ment, his opposition to popery was probably too violent, and therefore ill-judged;—his learning, otherwise, would greatly have served the Reformation. The people were never fairly dealt with. The English government had imposed upon them a new form of religious worship, while they were still bigoted in their adherence to the old form.

“The piety of John Bale taking the alarm, he arose, like another Collier, to preserve the mirror of nature from being sullied. To effect this, instead of employing his favourite instrument of invective, he wrote some dramatic pieces, inculcating morality, and breathing the spirit of the gospel. Two of those pieces—namely, “God’s Promises,” and “John Baptist,” were acted by young men, at the Market Cross in Kilkenny, on a Sunday, in the year 1552.* This last was written chiefly to vindicate the doctrine of grace against such as held the doctrine of free-will, and the merit of works. Adam, Abraham, Noah, Moses, Isaiah, David, and John the Baptist, are all introduced on the stage with the Almighty.” His acrimony in controversy obtained for him the appellation of “*Bilious Bale*.”

Of Waterford, Bale writes—“In beholding the face and order of that city, I saw many abominable idolatries maintained by the priests for their worldly interests: the Communion, or Supper of the Lord, was there altogether used like a popish mass, with the old apish toys of Antichrist, in bowings and beckonings, kneelings and knockings. . . . There wailed they over

* See *Collect. de Rebus Hib.* Vol ii., p. 388.

their dead with prodigious howlings and patterings, as though their souls had not been quieted in Christ, and redeemed by his passion, but that they must come after, and help at a pinch, with *requiem eternam*, to deliver them out of hell by their sorceries."

Bale confesses that "ignorance and blindness had wholly possessed him," till the Lord sent him to the source of all true knowledge—His own written Word; and then he was, as he says, induced "to throw off all marks of the beast, and, according to the divine precept," (1 Cor. vii. 9) "he married a faithful wife, who proved his inseparable companion and co-partner in all his following troubles and exilements." He was himself converted from the errors of his ways; and in trying to lead others to follow his example, he says, "much were the priests offended also, for that I had in my preachings willed them to have wives of their own, and to leave the unshamefaced conduct they had practised. But hear what answer they made me always; yea, the most vicious among them:—'What! should we marry,' said they, 'for half a year, and so lose our livings?' . . . Well, the truth is, I could never yet, by any godly or honest persuasion, bring any of them to marriage." Neither could he persuade them to reform,—“What though”—he adds—“I most earnestly laboured it.” “Another thing was there, that much had displeased the prebendaries and other priests. I had earnestly, ever since my first coming, required them to observe and follow that only ‘Book of Common Prayer,’ which the king and his council had that year put forth by act of parliament. But that would they at no hand obey;

alleging, for their vain and idle excuse, the evil example of the Archbishop of Dublin, which was always slack in things pertaining to God's glory : alleging also, the want of books, and that their own justices and lawyers had not consented thereunto ; as though it had been lawful for their justices to have denied the same ; or as though they had rather have hanged upon them, than upon the king's authority, and commandment of his council."

These quotations, with others following, are taken from "Bale's Vocacyon," printed in the "Harleian Miscellanies."

Turner had been selected by the archbishop, Cranmer, and afterwards by the king, as a fit man for the archbishoprick of Armagh, but he objected to the appointment, and "urged to the archbishop, that if he went thither he should have no auditors, but must preach to the walls and stalls, for the people understood no English."

The charge then fell upon Hugh Goodacre, whom Cranmer represented as "a wise and well-learned man."

Bale was at the same time appointed Bishop of Ossory, by the king's special selection and designation. They were consecrated together in Christ Church, Dublin, on the 2nd of February, 1553, by the Archbishop of Dublin, assisted by the Bishops of Kildare, Down, and Connor.

Bale had been thrown into prison, in the reign of Henry VIII., for preaching against the Romish religion, especially the invocation of saints, and the worshipping of images. Of himself he says, "Yea, I ask God

mercy a thousand times ; I have been one of them myself." From past experience he was qualified to testify against their idolatry and practices. Goodacre and Bale had been associates and friends, they were cordially welcomed in Dublin, where, according to Bale's observation, "much of the people did greatly rejoice of our coming thither, thinking, by our preachings, the pope's superstitions would diminish, and the true Christian religion increase." . . . "The consecration was celebrated without any tumult among the people; and every man, saving the priests, being well contented."

On entering upon his charge, he says, "my first proceedings in that doing were these:—I earnestly exhorted the people to repentance for sin, and required them to give credit to the gospel of salvation; to acknowledge and believe that there was but one God; and him alone, without any other, sincerely to worship: to confess one Christ for an only Saviour and Redeemer,—and to trust in none other man's prayers, merits, nor yet deservings,—but in His alone for salvation. I treated at large both of the heavenly and political state of the church;—and helpers I found none among my prebendaries and clergy,—but adversaries a great number."

"I preached the gospel of the knowledge and right invocation of God; I maintained the political by doctrine; and moved the commons always to obey the magistrates. But when I once sought to destroy the idolatries, and dissolve the hypocrites' yokes,—then followed angers, slanders, conspiracies,—and, in the end, the slaughter of men. Much ado I had with the priests:—for that I had said among other, that the

white gods of their making, such as they offered to the people to be worshipped, were no gods, but idols; and, that their prayers for the dead procured no redemption to the souls departed,—redemption of souls being only in Christ, of Christ, and by Christ. I added, that their office, by Christ's straight commandment, was chiefly to preach and instruct the people in the doctrine and ways of God, and not to occupy so much time in chaunting, piping, and singing."

"Of all occupations," says Bale, of the celebration of mass, "methinks it is the most foolish; for, there standeth the priest disguised, like one that would show some conveyance or juggling play. He turneth his back to the people, and telleth a tale to the wall, in a foreign language. If he turn his face to them, it is either to receive the offering;—either to desire them to give him a good word, with *Ora pro me, fratres* (pray for me, brethren), for he is a poor brother of theirs;—either to bid them God speed, with *Dominus vobiscum* (the Lord be with you), for they get no part of his banquet;—either else to bless them with the bottom of the cup, *Benedictio Dei* (the blessing of God), when all the breakfast is done."

John Bale greatly lamented the barbarous ravages committed on the libraries of the monks. Monasteries were then the repositories as well as seminaries of learning. Many valuable books, national records, and private evidences, had been preserved in their libraries, in the most turbulent times. Many which had escaped the ravages of the Danes, were laid up here in safety, until, at the dissolution of the monasteries, all were

mercilessly destroyed. Bale says,—“covetousness was at that time so busy about private commodity, that public wealth, in that most necessary, and of respect, was not anywhere regarded. A number of them which purchased those superstitious mansions, reserved of those library books, some to scour their candlesticks, some to rub their boots, some they sold to grocers, soap-sellers, and some to bookbinders: whole ships full were sent over sea,—yea, the universities of this realm are not clear in this detestable fact. But, cursed is that belly which seeketh to be fed with so ungodly gains, and so deeply shameth his natural country. I know a merchantman that bought the contents of two noble libraries for forty shillings price,—a shame it is to be spoken! This stuff hath he occupied, instead of grey paper, by the space of more than these ten years, and yet he hath store enough for as many years to come: a prodigious example is this, and to be abhorred by all men which love their nation as they should do. Yea, what may bring our realm to more shame and rebuke than to have it noised abroad that we are despisers of learning? I shall judge this to be true, and utter it with heaviness, that neither the Britons, under the Romans and Saxons,—nor yet the English people, under the Danes and Normans,—had ever such damage of their learned monuments as we have seen in our time. Our posterity may well curse this wicked fact of our age;—this unreasonable spoil of England’s most noble antiquities.” *

* *Ann. Reg.* 1773.

Religious disputes, at this time, formed a kind of interlude between those which usually agitated our restless island. We shall pass over the contests of the O'Briens in Munster, and the De Burghs, or Bourkes, in Connaught. In Ulster they assumed a more formidable appearance. O'Neil, the Earl of Tyrone, seemed to forget his submission to Henry VIII., while he returned to that rancorous hatred which caused him to pronounce a malediction on any O'Neil who should ever conform to English manners, or associate with any of Saxon race. The dissensions of his own family disturbed the whole province. His reputed son, Matthew, on whom Henry had conferred the title of Lord Dunganon, was now declared not to be an O'Neil, but the son of a blacksmith in Dundalk, whose wife found means to persuade Con O'Neil that the boy was his son after he had reached his fifteenth year. O'Neil's legitimate sons, John or Shane, and Hugh, were incensed against their father for his partiality to Matthew, whom he had nominated as his heir to possessions which they ought lawfully to inherit. They reproached him bitterly for this injustice, and also for having basely sacrificed the ancient dignity and independence of his house, by his submission to the King of England. The Earl of Tyrone, yielding to their remonstrances, entered into the schemes of Shane and Hugh, to exclude Matthew from all the honours and titles of O'Neil, as well as to throw off the shackles of allegiance to England. On the first movement to effect their purpose, Matthew made application to the lord-deputy, and, in consequence, the earl, with his countess (who

had been an active agent in instigating a revolt), were suddenly seized, and for a time kept in honourable durance within the English Pale.

In the mean time, Shane collected his followers, and made an attack upon Matthew, who procured assistance from the deputy. Some of the neighbouring chieftains, and a body of Scots, who had made a descent on Ulster, united their forces to those of Shane O'Neil, by which means he routed his enemies, and pursued them with great slaughter. Not satisfied with this victory, he plundered his father's mansion, desolated his grounds, and laid waste the whole of his territory, sixty miles in length, and forty in breadth. This district was considered "the fairest and most flourishing part of the whole island."

Camden gives the following melancholy detail of O'Neil's outrageous proceedings:—"Shane, seeing a base-born man preferred to him, set his heart wholly against his father; and his hatred burned with such bitter malice against Matthew, that he murdered him out of the way:—and so harassed and grieved his father with injurious indignities,—depriving him of his seigniory, seizing upon his dwelling-place, and stripping him of all he had, that the old man, for very thought and grief of heart, pined away and died.

"Shane was now chosen, proclaimed, and inaugurated, *The O'Neil*, by an old shoe cast over his head. He took possession of his father's inheritance, and sought how he might lay hold on the sons of Matthew: Brian, the eldest, was slain by Mac Donel Totan, one of the race of O'Neil, suborned, as was supposed, by the chieftain,

to commit the murder. The English rescued his two brothers, Hugh and Cormac, whose lives were thus saved.

“Shane, having now the mastery, exercised his authority in acts of cruelty over the great men of Ulster; and vauntingly declared, that Mac Genys, Mac Guire, Mac Mahon, O'Reiley, O'Hanlon, O'Cahan, Mac Brien, O'Hagan, O'Quin, Mac Conna, Mac Carton, and all the Mac Donels, were his gallowglasses, subjects, and vassals.”

July 6th, 1553. The death of the good young king Edward retarded the work of the Reformation, and revived the hopes of the Romanists. Goodacre, Archbishop of Armagh, had entered into rest soon after he was consecrated.

The accession of Mary was announced in Ireland by a proclamation, which had been sent over from the council of England, on the 20th of July. It was read in Dublin, and in other cities and towns of the kingdom. She was styled therein, “supreme head of the church.” Another proclamation gave liberty to all persons, so inclined, to attend the mass; but not compelling any, who were unwilling, to attend it.

Bishop Bale's account of this announcement, with its consequences, is as follows:—“On the 20th day of August, was the Lady Mary, with us at Kilkenny, proclaimed Queen of England, France, and Ireland, with the greatest solemnity that could be devised, of processions, musters, and disguisings,—all the noble captains and gentlemen thereabout being present. What ado I had that day with the prebendaries and priests about

wearing the cope, crosier, and mitre, in procession, it were too much to write !

“I told them earnestly, when they would have compelled me thereto, that I was not Moses’ minister, but Christ’s. I desired them not to compel me to his denial, which is, St. Paul saith, in the repeating of Moses’ sacraments and ceremonial shadows. (Gal. v.) With that I took Christ’s Testament in my hand, and went to the Market Cross, the people, in great number, following. There took I the thirteenth chapter of St. Paul to the Romans, declaring to them briefly what the authority was of the worldly powers and magistrates,—what reverence and obedience were due to the same. In the mean time had the prelates [*qu.* prebendaries] gotten two disguised priests, one to bear the mitre afore me, and another the crosier, making three procession-pageants of one.

“The young men, in the forenoon, played a tragedy of God’s promises in the old law, at the Market Cross, with organ plainges, and songs, very aptly. In the afternoon again, they played a comedy of St. John the Baptist’s preachings, of Christ’s baptising, and of his temptations in the wilderness, to the small contentation of the priests and other papists there.

“On the last day of August, I being absent, the clergy of Kilkenny blasphemously resumed again the whole papism, or heap of superstitions of the Bishop of Rome,—to the utter contempt of Christ and his holy word; of the king and council of England; and of all ecclesiastical and politick order, without either statute or yet proclamation. They rang all the bells in that

cathedral, minster, and parish churches; they flung up their caps to the battlements of the great temple, with smilings, and laughings, most dissolutely; they brought forth their copes, candlesticks, holy-water, stocks, crosses, and censors; they mustered forth in general procession, most gorgeously, all the town over, with 'Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis,' and the rest of the Latin litany. They chattered it—they chaunted it with great noise and devotion; they banquetted all the day after, for that they were delivered from the grace of God into a warm sun.

“For now they may, now from henceforth, again deceive the people, as they did aforetime, with their Latin mumblings, and make merchandise of them. 2 Peter ii.

“They may make the witless sort believe that they can make every day new gods of their little white cakes, and that they can fetch their friends' souls from flaming purgatory; if need be, with other great miracles else.”

The character of Bale has been censured in no measured terms, but without a statement of reasons sufficient to justify the charges.* It is true that an uncommon warmth of temper excited him to an unbecoming coarseness, and even grossness, of expression, in speaking of those who had incurred his displeasure.

Towards the close of 1553, Archbishop Dowdall was restored to the see of Armagh, which the death of Goodacre had left vacant. By letters patent, the title of Primate of all Ireland was also restored to him, the queen having obliged Archbishop Browne to surrender

* See Mant's *Church History of Ireland*.

the patent which Edward VI. had granted, transferring that title to the see of Dublin, in order to deliver it cancelled into chancery.

It is remarkable that Sir Anthony St. Leger, who was now again lord-deputy, should be the same person to whose government the former change of religion was entrusted, and that he was now to build up again that which he had been appointed to pull down.

April, 1554, a commission was issued empowering delegates to take measures for restoring the Papal religion, and especially for re-establishing celibacy among the clergy. In executing this commission, Staples, Bishop of Meath, Browne, Archbishop of Dublin, Lancaster, Bishop of Kildare, Travers, Bishop of Leighlin, and Casey, Bishop of Limerick, were deprived of their sees. Bale, Bishop of Ossory, had fallen under the same penalty, and had been compelled to take flight from the violent assaults of some popish priests and others, who sought his life. They made an attack upon him in his own house at Bishop's Court, and slew five of his domestics before his face. But he shut the iron gate of his castle, and defended himself until the chief magistrate of Kilkenny arrived, with a military force, who conveyed him by night in safety to Kilkenny, and from thence to Dublin, where his persecutors again assailed him; but he escaped out of their hands and found a peaceful abode at Basle, where he remained five years.

There is an interesting account in Smith's "Kerry," of Thomas, the sixteenth lord of Kerry, who had served many years as an officer in the Milanese army, under the Emperors of Germany. By the death of his brother

and his two nephews, he became heir to the title and estates, which were usurped by Gerald Fitz-Maurice, another branch of the same family. The valuable territory of Lixnaw was thus estranged for about a year, while its lawful proprietor remained in a foreign land, ignorant of what had happened; and probably would have remained so much longer, but for the devoted attachment of his old nurse, Joan Hardman; she had nearly numbered her eightieth year when she sailed from Dingle, and crossed both sea and land until she found her foster-son at Milan. Having delivered her errand, her earthly cares were over; she did not live to see her native land again. Thomas returned to Ireland and laid claim to his inheritance, which was disputed for two years, but ultimately gained. In the fifth year of the reign of Edward VI. his title deeds were granted, styling him Lord of Kerry, captain of his nation.

In the first year of Philip and Mary he received a letter from their majesties, dated Hampton Court, 23rd Sept., and directed "to their trusty and well-beloved subject, the baron of Kerry; advertising him of their marriage, and requiring that he should assist the lord-deputy to redress the disorders which had crept into the state, since the death of Henry VIII., both in matters of religion and otherwise, and to preserve the kingdom in peace, tranquillity, justice, and honour." In the month following, by patent, the queen "granted and confirmed to him his estate, to hold it for ever of the crown, by the same rents and services any of his ancestors had held the same, in consideration of his good

service to the queen and to King Edward VI." He sat in parliament in the third and fourth years of Philip and Mary, who were married by Gardiner, at Winchester, on the 27th July, 1554. On the same day they were proclaimed King and Queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, with many more titles. The two latter kingdoms had just before been presented by the emperor to Philip, his son, who was but twenty-nine years of age; Mary was ten years older. One of his first acts was to intercede for the Princess Elizabeth, whom the queen would have made away with, as Gardiner advised, rather than give her a chance of reigning and again restoring the protestant religion.

1556. The lord-deputy was directed to convene a parliament in Ireland, chiefly for the purpose of re-establishing the Romish religion. The lords and commons assembled on the first day of June. The earl of Sussex having received a bull from Cardinal Pole, the pope's legate, gave it to the chancellor in order that it might be read in full parliament, which was done by the chancellor himself, kneeling on his knees; all the assembly of the lords and commons likewise kneeling. It set forth the fatal separation of the Irish from the church of Rome as the effect of fear rather than the act of a willing people. They then adjourned to the cathedral, where *Te Deum* was chaunted, and public thanksgiving offered up for the restoration of the realm to the unity of the church. After this ceremony the parliament proceeded to execute the directions of the English ministry, in subserviency to which several acts were passed.

During an interval of thirteen years there had been no parliament held in Ireland; and the chief business of this one was to define the intent and meaning of Poyning's law.* An act was passed for the expulsion of the Scottish islanders, who continued their inroads into Ulster, fomenting every local quarrel, and even venturing to resist the forces of government. They were defeated, but not expelled, by the Earl of Sussex.

Another act of this parliament strongly evinces the meanness of ecclesiastical rancour. Hugh Curwen, successor to Archbishop Browne, presented a petition to parliament, complaining of devastations made in the archiepiscopal rights during the late schism. It was favorably received; and it was enacted, that the acts of the late prelate should be made void, and his offspring regarded as illegitimate. There was, however, no persecution of protestants in Ireland at this time; several English families, friends to the Reformation, took refuge in Ireland, where they remained unmolested in a retired enjoyment of their doctrine and worship.

Fitz-Walter, Earl of Sussex, who succeeded Sir Anthony St. Leger in the administration of affairs in Ireland, was engaged, as his predecessor had been, in repressing local feuds in different quarters of the island. The districts of Leix and Ophally were regarded as property recovered out of the hands of Irish rebels, and given up to the lord-deputy to grant estates, or leases in them, at his pleasure, with reservation of such rents as he should deem expedient. These and the adjacent

* Leland.

districts were for ever vested in the crown, and converted into shire lands. Leix was now called Queen's County, and its principal fort, Maryborough: and Ophally, the King's County; its fort being named Philip's-town, in honour of the king and queen. But the old Irish inhabitants of these counties did not patiently yield their claims and territories to new settlers. They attempted an insurrection which was soon quelled, and brought down vengeance upon their own heads. The sword, in the field of battle, and martial law, cut off numbers; and probably none would have escaped but for the intercession of the Earls of Ormond and Kildare, who became sureties for the future peaceable conduct of the survivors.*

Sir Henry Sidney, coadjutor to the Earl of Sussex, signalized himself at Carrickfergus, which was besieged by the Scots, under James Mac Donnell;—they were totally defeated, and their general was killed.

Some commotions in Ulster, at this time, occupy many pages of Irish History. The contentions of the O'Neils and O'Donnells were carried to a great pitch. Shane O'Neil aimed at bringing all the northern chieftains under subjection to himself, and led out an army of four thousand foot, and one thousand horse, against O'Donnel, of Tyrconnel. The camp of O'Neil lay between two rivers. On being told that the peasantry were driving their cattle into the mountains and concealing every article of provision, he exclaimed,—“Let them drive our prey into the midst of Leinster, or hide

* Leland.

it in the south, we shall pursue it to the remotest corner of the island."

The rustic camp of this vain boaster is described as being lighted up with a prodigious flame, not formed by many tapers, but one blaze issuing from a bundle of peeled rushes, bound together to the thickness of a man's body—the whole being well saturated with grease. The chieftain lay in negligent security, surrounded by sixty gallowglasses, bearing the battle-axe, and as many mercenary Scots, armed with sword and target, when they were suddenly surprised by O'Donnel and his party, and completely routed. O'Neil with difficulty escaped by a hasty flight. Among the number of the slain O'Cahan is particularly noticed: he was surnamed Cuinagan, *i.e.* "the antagonist of the strangers." His honourable appointment was that of throwing a shoe over the head of the O'Neil at his inauguration. He had a princely residence at Limavady, a delightful place on the banks of the Roe.*

1558. The Earl of Sussex marched to Limerick, which was in great commotion by reason of local dissensions. Donogh O'Brien had succeeded to the earldom of Thomond in 1552. His brother, Sir Daniel, commenced hostilities against him, and having deprived

* Many years subsequent to this event, the castle of the last chieftain of this family was demolished; his estates were forfeited in the reign of James I., for the part he had taken with O'Neil and O'Donnel, in their treasonable practices. During the following reign, the Duchess of Buckingham went to see the widow of O'Cahan, and found her in the ruins of her once splendid residence, with a blanket about her, cowering over the embers of an expiring fire of brambles; the broken and dismantled casements stuffed with straw.—*M'Gregor.*

him of life, took possession of his sovereignty of Thomond, by the ancient law of tanistry, in defiance of a renunciation made by Morrough O'Brien, in the reign of Henry VIII.

The lord-deputy entered Thomond with an efficient force, took possession of several castles, and having proclaimed Daniel O'Brien a traitor, he invested Connor, the son of the late earl, with all his rights: in acknowledgment of which, the young earl accompanied the deputy to Limerick, and in the presence of all his freeholders, in the cathedral church, renounced the title of O'Brien, and swore allegiance to King Philip and Queen Mary,—which is recorded by the Irish annalists as follows:—"thus he gave up the dignity of *dalgais*,* and accepted the title of earl, to the astonishment and indignation of all the descendants of Heber and Heremon."†

Among the manuscripts of Sir James Ware is the following statement:—"Queen Mary having dealt severely with the protestants in England, about the latter end of her reign signed a commission to take the same course with those in Ireland: and to execute the same with greater force, she nominates Dr. Cole one of the commissioners. This doctor, coming with the commission to Chester, on his journey, the mayor of that city, hearing that her majesty was sending a messenger into Ireland, and he, being a churchman, waited on the doctor: who, in discourse with the mayor, taketh out of a cloak-bag a leather box,

* Brian Boiroimhe's *Militia*.

† M'Gregor.

saying unto him—‘ here is a commission that shall lash the *heretics* of Ireland ’ (calling the protestants by that title). The good woman of the house, being well-affected to the protestant religion, and also having a brother, named John Edmonds, of the same, then a citizen in Dublin, was much troubled at the doctor’s words; but watching her convenient time, while the mayor took his leave, and the doctor complimented him down the stairs, she opens the box, takes the commission out, and places in lieu thereof, a sheet of paper with a pack of cards wrapped up therein, the knave of clubs being placed uppermost. The doctor, coming up to his chamber, suspecting nothing of what had been done, put up the box as formerly. The next day going to the water-side, wind and weather serving him, he sails towards Ireland, and landed at Dublin on the 7th of October, 1558. Then coming to the castle, the Lord Fitz-Walter, being lord-deputy, sent for him to come before him and the privy council, who, coming in, after he had made a speech relating upon what account he came over, presents the box unto the lord-deputy, who causing it to be opened that the secretary might read the commission, there was nothing, save the pack of cards with the knave of clubs uppermost; which not only startled the lord-deputy and council, but the doctor, who assured them he had a commission, but knew not how it was gone. Then the lord-deputy made answer, ‘ Let us have another commission, and we will shuffle the cards in the meanwhile.’ The doctor, being troubled in his mind, went away, and returned into England, and coming to the

court, obtained another commission; but staying for a wind on the water-side, news came to him that the queen was dead: and thus God preserved the protestants of Ireland."

On the return of Lord Fitz-Walter to England, he related this circumstance to Queen Elizabeth, which so delighted her, that she sent for Elizabeth Edmonds, and settled a pension upon her of forty pounds during the remainder of her life.*

In Baker's "Chronicle" it is stated, that the common net, in those persecuting times, for entrapping protestants, was the controversy about the real presence; it was spread for the Lady Elizabeth herself. Being asked what she thought the words of Christ signified, "This is my body," she paused for a time, then answered,—

" Christ was the word that spake it ;
He took the bread and brake it ;
And what the word did make it,
That I believe, and take it."

Hume's account of Mary is, that she possessed few qualities either estimable or amiable; she was noted for obstinacy, bigotry, violence, cruelty, malignity, revenge, tyranny; every circumstance of her character took a tincture from her bad temper and narrow understanding. Amidst the complication of vices which entered into her composition, we shall scarcely find any virtue but sincerity; and her person was as little engaging as her behaviour and address.

Bishop Godwin thus describes the temper of the

* See Cox's "*Hibernia Anglicana, or Hist. Ireland,*" *Harleian Miscellany*. Vol. v.

public on the demise of Mary:—"The rich were fearful, the wise careful, the honestly-disposed doubtful, the discontented and desperate were joyful, wishing for strife as the door for plunder." But the peaceable accession of Elizabeth disappointed such expectations.

In the autumn of 1558, a malignant fever carried off thousands;—so many country people died of it, that the ripened grain fell rotting upon the ground for want of reapers to cut it in time. At such a crisis, this fatality favoured the change of religion, for many of the ecclesiastics who would have opposed it were seized with the contagion, and carried off. Thirteen bishops were taken away in four months; and while Mary lay upon her death-bed, Cardinal Pole, Christopherson, Bishop of Chichester, and Griffin, Bishop of Rochester, were either dying or dead.*

On the 17th day of November, 1558, the protestant church was delivered from its bigoted persecutor. Mary died of dropsy, in the forty-third year of her age, at the commencement of the sixth of her reign. The persons by whom she was surrounded, hurried her on to extremities. Gardiner, Bonner, and Philip, her husband, were under the influence of the same vindictive zeal for persecution and extermination.

The death of Mary was not announced for some hours after it took place. When the event was made public, Camden says,—“they mingled mirth with mourning.” Elizabeth, at twenty-five years of age, ascended the throne of England. Experience and adversity had

* Miss Strickland's *Life of Elizabeth*.

taught her wisdom far above her years. She prudently continued eleven of her sister's council in office, and chose eight others, whose sentiments she knew coincided with her own.

Having received a good report of the Earl of Sussex's government in Ireland, she sent a new commission, to prolong it.

A parliament was convened in the second year of Elizabeth's reign, by which it was enacted, "that the spiritual jurisdiction should be restored to the crown; that all her sister Mary's acts in favour of popery should be repealed; that every person who should in any way maintain the spiritual supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, should, for the first offence, forfeit all his estates; or if not worth £20, be imprisoned for one year; incur a præmunire for the second offence: and become guilty of high treason for the third offence; that the use of the Common Prayer should be enforced, as in England: that every person should attend the service of the established church, or incur a forfeiture of twelve pence for every omission."*

When Sussex brought these new enactments before the Irish parliament, they met with a strong opposition, but were finally carried. The parliament sat from the 12th of January to the 12th of February.

The Earl of Sussex repaired to England, in order to give a faithful account to the queen of the reception the new laws had met with from the Irish nation.

* Plowden.

CHAPTER VIII.

Improvement in the Currency—Shane O'Neil's Visit to Queen Elizabeth—His Victory over the Scots—Mac Carthy More created Earl of Clancarthy—Sir Henry Sidney, Lord-Justice—Contentions of the Earls of Ormond and Desmond—O'Neil renews his Hostilities, and stirs up the first Religious Rebellion—Is murdered by the Hebridean Scots—Desmond's Rebellion, Capture, and Imprisonment—The Irish Rebels send an Embassy to the King of Spain—Ormond's Brothers join the Confederacy—Commutations in Ulster—Rebellion in Munster and Leinster—Earl of Essex sent to quell Insurrection—Opposition from the Lord-Deputy—The Earl of Desmond proclaimed a Traitor—Funeral of Sir Peter Carew—Death of Essex.

ELIZABETH sent back the Earl of Sussex to the government of Ireland, with particular instructions to guard against the wily practices of the French. She suspected that religion would be made use of as a cloak to cover a rebellion, which they would try to stir up in the minds of "an uncivil and superstitious people." He was commissioned to augment the queen's revenues moderately, and to reduce her exchequer to the form of the exchequer in England.*

* Camden's *Hist. of Elizabeth*.

1560. England was indebted to Queen Elizabeth for the best and purest coinage that had been seen there for two hundred years. She had also good money stamped for Ireland, called sterling; in value, exceeding the same coin in England,—the shilling being but ninepence in the one country, and twelvepence in the other.

The joy of the distressed people at this reformation in the currency was expressed in the following ballad:—

“ Let bonfires shine in every place,
Sing, and ring the bells apace,
And pray that long may live her grace,
To be the good queen of Ireland.

“ The gold and silver, which was so base
That no man could endure it scarce,—
Is now new-coined with her own face,
And made to go current in Ireland.” *

The gold coins of Elizabeth are peculiarly beautiful: they were sovereigns, half-sovereigns (or rials), nobles, double-nobles, angels, &c.,—crowns, half-crowns: rial is a corruption from royal. One pound of gold was coined into twenty-four sovereigns—value thirty shillings each. The queen's profile was stamped upon them, in armour and ruff, her hair dishevelled, flowing over her breast and shoulders, and crowned with the imperial crown of England.

The contentions of Shane O'Neil were continued with increased violence. The Scottish chieftains, Sorley Buy, James Mac Conel, and O'Donnel, were deeply engaged in them. A strong military force had become requisite to quiet the country. O'Neil heard of its

* Preserved by Simon, in his “ *Essay on Irish Coins.*”

approach with alarm, not having an army fit to encounter it. He had broken the English laws; he had been hostile to the neighbouring chiefs; and had alienated even his own race. Under such circumstances but one alternative remained for him—that of casting himself upon the queen's clemency; and this he was advised to by his kinsman, the Earl of Kildare.

O'Neil, equipping himself in the best Irish fashion, made his appearance at the English court before Queen Elizabeth. His attendants were a guard of axe-bearing gallowglasses, bare-headed, with long dishevelled hair; their habiliments were loose, long-sleeved shirts, dyed with saffron, short coats, and hairy mantles. The streets of London were crowded with gazers as the strange procession passed on.

O'Neil, throwing himself howling at the feet of the queen, confessed his sin of rebellion, and implored her pardon, which was freely and graciously granted. The whole story of the disputed inheritance had been already brought before her majesty, and on her questioning her suppliant to enlighten her farther, in regard to the exclusion of Hugh O'Neil, the son of his brother Matthew, Shane O'Neil entered into the following explanation :—

“ By very good right, to wit, that I, being the certain and lawful heir of Con, born of his lawful wife, have entered upon my father's inheritance : *that* Matthew, was the son of a blacksmith of Dundalk, by his mother Alison, cunningly obtruded upon Con for his son, to bereave him of his inheritance and dignity of O'Neil; which, though he endured, yet none other of the house

of O'Neil would suffer it. The surrender which my father made to Henry VIII., and the re-delivery which the king made back again to him by his letters patent, are nothing worth; forasmuch as Con had no estate in that which he surrendered, but for life; nor could he surrender it without the consent of the nobility and people by whom he was elected to the honour of O'Neil; neither are the letters patent of any value, unless a certain heir of the family were first allowed, by the oath of twelve men, which, in this case, was never done. I am, by the law of God and man, the certain heir, the eldest son of my father, born in lawful wedlock, and designated O'Neil by the joint consent of the nobility, according to the law of our country, called Tanistry, by which a man of mature age is to be preferred before a child, and the uncle to that nephew whose grandfather survives his father. Neither did I usurp any other authority over the nobility of Ulster, than what my forefathers, in former times, exercised by their own right, as I am able to prove by good evidence."*

After a patient hearing, the queen dismissed the earl with so much graciousness, and so many marks of her favour, as disposed him, so long as the impression lasted, to conduct himself as a faithful subject and ally. He was not, however, of a disposition to remain long quiet. He was soon again embroiled with his neighbours, and the Scots of Cantire and the Hebrides, who made an irruption upon his lands. These he soon expelled, and slew two of their leaders, James and Agne

* Camden's *Hist. of Elizabeth*.

Mac Conel. Elated with his success, he made a furious attack upon his old enemy, Calvagh O'Donnel, and made himself master of all he possessed, even carrying off his wife, whom he retained as a captive. Mac Guire and Mac Genis shared the same fate. He ruled like a despotic tyrant over the chieftains of Ulster.*

1565. Donald Mac Carthy More presented himself before Elizabeth, and, upon his knees, delivered up his extensive territories, which she returned, with permission that he should hold them in fee to him and his heirs male, or in default of such heirs, as grants to the crown of England.* Then she, of her courtesy, most graciously embracing him ("she being a princess born to win the love of men"), did, in her wisdom, solemnly invest him with the title of Earl of Glencarn, or Glencarthy, and his son Teig with that of Baron of Valentia. She bestowed gifts on both, and took upon herself the expenses of their journey, hoping to make use of them against the Earl of Desmond, whose contentions with Thomas, Earl of Ormond, disturbed the province of Munster.

In order to tranquilize this district, the queen appointed Sir Warham St. Leger, president, to administer justice, with an assistant, two lawyers, and a clerk, to regulate the affairs of Munster.*

When Shane O'Neil heard of the dignities which the queen had conferred on Mac Carthy More, he said to some English commissioners,—“A precious earl! I keep a lacquey as noble as he. But let him enjoy his

* Camden's *Hist. of Elizabeth*.

honour; it is not worthy of O'Neil. I have, indeed, made peace with the queen, at her desire; but I have not forgotten the royal dignity of my ancestors. Ulster was theirs, and shall be mine. With the sword they won it; with the sword I will maintain it."*

Not satisfied with tyrannizing over the Irish chieftains, O'Neil ravaged the English Pale, and made havoc of the metropolitan city, Armagh; which see had been for nearly four years vacant, and was now filled by Dr. Adam Loftus, chaplain to the Earl of Sussex.

The measures adopted to enforce the protestant religion were injudicious, and failed in their object. Every person who did not attend the English church service on the Sundays, was subject to a fine, which augmented the hatred of the common people to the Reformation: many churches were abandoned and became ruinous. O'Neil was chosen by the pope's emissaries to fan the flame of a religious rebellion, and to become the champion of the church of Rome.

On the first appearance of this outbreak, the queen, thinking that by kindness she could bind the earl to espouse her interest, disannulled the patent of Henry VIII. which had pronounced Matthew to be the lawful heir of Con, all whose titles and honours were now transferred to Shane, now created Earl of Tyrone and Baron of Dungannon.† But he, in his barbarous pride, disdaining such titles, boasting of his superior rank, and calling himself King of Ulster, trained the country people to war, and offered the kingdom of Ireland to

* Hooker.

† Camden.

the Queen of Scotland; at the same time calling a castle, which he built on an island in Lough Neagh, "Fogh ne Gall," or "the abomination of the English." He hanged one of his followers whom he suspected was a spy for the government, and another shared the same fate for eating English biscuit, which was considered a degradation from the native habits: "yet never spake he of the queen but with honour."*

O'Neil, in one essential quality, failed in his office of leader of a religious war; he was not submissive to the priesthood. He seized the cathedral of Armagh, which he deemed profaned by a recent celebration of divine service according to the protestant ritual. In his fiery zeal against heresy, he burned the edifice, which the Roman Catholic prelate, Richard Creagh, would have preserved for worship as formerly, after having used undestructive means for its purification; this, with other injuries in their persons, property, and privileges, which the clergy had received from O'Neil, was resented by the sentence of excommunication pronounced against him.

His expulsion of the Hebridean Scots, who had swarmed into Ulster, and possessed themselves of several towns which the English claimed as their own property, obtained for him the queen's letters patent, expressing her entire approbation of his services. His subsequent proceedings, however, did not satisfy the Earl of Sussex. It became very evident that he was continually training his followers to arms, and increasing

* Camden.

his forces. The lord-deputy having communicated his suspicions to the queen, she answered, "Be not dismayed; tell my friends, if he arise it will be to their advantage, there will be estates for those who want: from me he must expect no further favour."

Sir Henry Sidney received orders to lead out an army against the Earl of Tyrone. Edward Randolph commanded a garrison which was stationed at Derry, on the banks of Lough Foyle. This exasperated O'Neil beyond all bounds. He gave way to the transports of his ferocious temper in wasting, plundering, and burning the country. Without venturing an attack upon Derry,—by insolent menaces he provoked the English garrison to fight. They easily broke through the disordered multitude—defeated, and put them to flight; but, unfortunately, an explosion of gunpowder destroyed the magazine at Derry, and compelled the garrison to abandon the city. This event was deemed miraculous by the superstitious multitude; they said that the holy St. Columbkille had taken vengeance on those who had defiled his city, and sent an enormous wolf, which had issued from the woods, with a fire-brand in his teeth, which he cast into the church desecrated by the heretics.

Sir Henry Sidney took the most effectual means to subdue O'Neil, by restoring those to power whom he had depressed. He reinstated Calvagh O'Donnel, Macguire of Fermanagh, and several of the Irish chieftains of Connaught, in their own lands; thus engaging their services, for the queen, against him who had been their inveterate and cruel enemy.*

* Camden.

Still Shane O'Neil was not quieted. Soon after the deputy withdrew his forces to another quarter, he broke out into fresh disorders, ravaging the country all round. He besieged Dundalk for the second time, but came off, as before, with shame and the loss of four thousand of his followers. In his barbarous rage he fell upon those who remained of his own men, whom he treated so cruelly that they fled from him. Forsaken and desperate, he was on the point of casting himself on the mercy of the deputy, but was advised rather to seek refuge among the Hebridean Scots, who had returned to the land from whence he had driven them. This was a fallacious hope for O'Neil. How could he expect a favourable reception from those whose relatives, James and Agne Mac Conel, he had slain ; while a third brother, Sorly Buy (*i.e.* yellow), had been long detained a prisoner by him ? He presumed that their hatred of the English would reconcile them to him, and prevail with them to unite in waging war with the common enemy. Before he appeared himself at the Scottish camp, which was stationed at Clan-huboy, he set Sorly Buy at liberty, and sent him forward to ask a conference. His request was granted, with an invitation from their leader, Alexander Oge (*i.e.* young), to come to their camp. Thither he repaired, with about fifty horsemen, and the unhappy wife of Calvagh O'Donnel, whom he still detained. He was hospitably entertained in the commander's tent ; but soon afterwards their angry passions rose, and blows succeeded to intemperate speeches. On a signal given, an armed band rushed in, and O'Neil was quickly butchered, with the most of his followers.

In the middle of June, 1567, thus terminated the life of Shane O'Neil, who was himself polluted with murders and other heinous crimes. He was a rioter, a glutton, and a drunkard. After immoderate excesses in the use of usquebaugh, to cool his blood, his attendants plunged him up to the chin in damp earth.* He left a numerous offspring. His possessions were confiscated by authority of a parliament in Ireland.

Tirlough Lynogh was now considered the most powerful man belonging to the house of O'Neil, and being of a peaceable disposition, the queen's authority was joined to popular election in his nomination to the chieftainry. After Sir Henry Sidney had settled this point, and restored order in Tyrone, fresh disturbances in the south obliged him to turn his attention to that quarter.

1564. †The fierce conflict maintained between Gerald, the sixteenth Earl of Desmond, and the Earl of Ormond, was the cause of such general disturbance, that both earls were ordered into England to give an account of their proceedings; but their accusations and retaliations were so contradictory and doubtful, that to enter into any just decision was impossible, and they were referred to the council of Ireland; by which they were advised to submit to the queen's determination. To this they agreed, and for the performance of the same, entered into a recognizance of £20,000 each. A commissioner was then sent to the deputy, under the broad seal of England, to take their examinations. The queen, on this occasion, wrote obscurely to Sir Henry Sidney, yet

* Camden.

† Smith's *Kerry*.

evidencing that her prejudices were in favour of the Earl of Ormond, and strongly against the Earl of Desmond. The chief points at issue between them were concerning the profits of prize-wines at Youghal and Kinsale, which both earls claimed as grants from the crown: also the bounds of their respective lands. They unceremoniously charged each other with treason, murder, and felony, involving their followers as well as themselves, in the commission of the most atrocious crimes. A pitched battle had been fought at Affane, on the 15th of February, 1564, in vindication of which, the Earl of Ormond pleaded the custom of the times; and said he had levied his forces for the defence of his country against Desmond. At the request of Sir Maurice Fitz-Gerald, he had gone into his territory, where, passing quietly along within two miles of Drumana, his residence, he was assailed by the Earl of Desmond, who had with him a train of proclaimed traitors and Irish rebels, whom he had authority from government to prosecute; and, finally, in his own defence, he was obliged to kill several of Desmond's people, for which, not seeking to justify himself, he offered submission to the queen.

Sir Henry Sidney refused the adjustment of these intricate affairs, without the assistance of other commissioners, and wrote to the secretary Cecil as follows :

“ I assure you, Sir, that if I served under the cruelest tyrant that ever tyrannized, and knew him affected on the one or on the other side, between party and party, and referred to my judgment, I would rather offend his affection, and stand to his mis-record, than offend my

own conscience and stand by God's judgment. Therefore, I beseech you, to let me have some other to be joined with me, &c."*

Commissioners were sent over in compliance with this request, and a reconciliation was brought about between the two earls; of what stamp it was, the following incident proves :—The reconciliation took place “in the chapter-house of St. Patrick's Church, Dublin, in the old oak door of which may be seen, to this day, the aperture cut for them to shake hands through, each fearing to be poigniarded by the other. A small square board is nailed on the hole.”*

1567. Desmond made a prey of cattle which belonged to Ormond: Sir Henry Sidney, making a progress through Munster with the Earl of Desmond, when at Youghal, upbraided him with this breach of his treaty. The earl's furious answer provoked the deputy to remind him that he had forfeited £20,000. Exasperated still further, Desmond exercised his revengeful feelings in using his influence over as many as he could to withhold from the lord-deputy the accustomed respect of attending upon him. Mac Carthy More, who had been created Earl of Clancarthy but two years before, yielded to his suggestions, and also Sir Owen O'Sullivan, while many others, groaning under Desmond's oppressions, adhered to the lord-deputy, from whose letters the following statement is taken. He says, “that the county of Cork was the pleasantest country he had ever seen, but was most miserably wasted and uncultivated; the

* Smith's *Kerry*.

villages and churches burnt and ruined, the castles destroyed, and the bones of the starved and murdered inhabitants strewed the fields." Again he says, "that a principal servant of Desmond's, not long before his arrival, after he had burned down several villages, and destroyed a large tract of the country, put a number of poor women to the sword; and that soon after this cruel deed, Desmond feasted him in his own house."

The devastation of the country gave no concern to the earl, who told the deputy, that for one gallowglass that he then kept, he would soon have five; and that before Midsummer, he would take the field with five thousand men.

When the deputy arrived at Kilmallock, he heard that all Desmond's people were in arms, under the pretext of his wishing to apprehend two of his own followers, O'Brien O'Goonagh, and the White Knight, to deliver them up to Sir H. Sidney, who had demanded them;—but these very men headed the forces;—and when Desmond found that this was made known to the deputy, and that every subterfuge failed, he threw himself on his knees, offering to disperse his armed bands:—to which the deputy coldly answered, that he might do as he pleased for that;—for his part, he added, that though he had but two hundred men, he would lead them out against six hundred such opponents as the earl could produce,—and that the life of Desmond should be immediately the forfeit of their temerity. The earl was then taken into custody, and brought to Limerick, from thence to Galway and to Dublin. The lord-deputy appointed Sir John, brother

of the Earl of Desmond, to the government of Kerry during the earl's imprisonment; and Henry Danvers, of Devon, and Andrew Skiddy, to that of Cork and Limerick. The earl was soon afterwards sent to England. Sir Henry Sidney said, that Desmond "was devoid of judgment to govern, and of will to be ruled."*

1569. The brothers of the Earl of Ormond, Edmund, and Peter Butler, tyrannized over their neighbours in Munster. They committed many lawless excesses, and entered into a confederacy with James Fitz-Maurice, Mac Carthy More, and others, who had combined with the Pope, and the King of Spain, to take Ireland out of the hands of Elizabeth, and to maintain the Roman Catholic religion.

Sir Peter Carew, the elder, had several skirmishes with them, but there was no decisive engagement.

Juan Mendoza was sent privately from Spain to fan this petty flame of rebellion, which the Earl of Ormond was sent from England to extinguish. He soon effected this by persuading his brothers to submit. Yet he could not save them from the disgrace of imprisonment, which he took much to heart, and in pleading for them before the queen, he said, that such a blot had never before stained the character of any of his noble race. Their nearness of blood to Elizabeth was a strong plea in their favour; she had often, "with joy, gloried in the untainted nobility of this family."† The queen would not allow the Butlers to be brought to a trial.

1570. On the 11th of July, the Earl of Desmond

* Smith's *Kerry*.

† Camden.

humbly submitted to the queen's majesty, laying all his possessions at her feet, promising to make over to her as much as it might please her to receive, and confessing that he had justly forfeited his recognizance of £20,000. Her majesty accepting of this act of contrition, he and his brother were permitted to return to Ireland.

Sir Henry Sidney received information from Sir Warham St. Leger, the President of Munster, that the Earl of Clanricarde, James Fitz-Maurice, Mac Donough Carthy, and others, had held a meeting in Kerry, from whence they had despatched the titular Bishops of Ross and Cashel to the King of Spain, to ask his assistance in support of religion, &c.

1570. Edward Fitton, the Governor of Connaught, had exerted himself to put an end to the exactions of the chieftains, which were very oppressive to her majesty's subjects.

His harsh measures stirred up a commotion in Connaught, of which the sons of the old Earl of Clanricarde were the principal instigators. They committed many acts of violence, chiefly in Westmeath. Their aged father, grieved at their excesses, applied to the lord-deputy and council for advice how to restrain his sons.

The grey hairs, mild countenance, and venerable aspect of the earl, commanded the respect of his hearers,—as did his high descent from the ancient English family of De Burgo. Fitton was removed from the government of the province, and made Treasurer of Ireland. A military force restored tranquillity, and obliged the sons of Clanricarde to make submission.*

* Camden's *Elizabeth*.

The Earl of Clancarthy having received a supply of arms from the King of Spain, rebelled against the English government, and despising the title of earl, returned to that of Mac Carthy More. Arrogating to himself the sovereignty of Munster, he joined O'Sullivan More, Mac Swiney, and others, in devastating the lands of Lord Roche. The counties of Tipperary and Kilkenny were engaged in this insurrection. Lord Kerry was imprisoned by the rebels, and when the lord-deputy required his release, they refused to obey.

1571. The rebellion spread through Munster;—James Fitz-Maurice was actively concerned in it, and committed many depredations.

Sir Henry Sidney returned to England,—his brother-in-law, Sir William Fitz-Williams, having been appointed to fill his place.

1572. Leinster was in an unquiet state from the ravages of the O'Mores: but on being proclaimed rebels, through the interference of the Earl of Kildare, they were persuaded to lay down their arms, and relinquish their vain attempt.

1573. The queen sent Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, to Ulster to quell some tumults excited by Brian Mac Phelim, who had seized upon Clan-hu-boy, a district comprehending part of the counties of Down and Antrim, and he burned Knockfergus.

Sir William Fitz-Williams, Lord-Deputy of Ireland, had no mind that Essex should become his rival in that country, and under different pretences would have prevented his coming, but could not; instead of this, Essex

was commanded to receive his patent from the deputy, making him governor of Ulster. On his way thither, he encountered a violent tempest at sea. Towards the end of August, he landed at Knockfergus, accompanied by the Lord Darcy, Lord Rich, Henry Knolles, with four of his brothers, Michael and John Cary, Henry, William, and John Norris, together with a military force hastily collected.

Essex undertook the expedition, after having made an agreement with the queen, that if he should succeed in taking Clan-hu-boy from the rebels, the half of that district should be granted to him and his soldiers. He undertook to maintain two hundred horsemen and four hundred foot. In order to carry on this war, he borrowed of the queen £10,000 of English money, for the payment of which, he mortgaged his lands in Essex.

Before he arrived, Brian Mac Phelim O'Neil took the precaution of securing his wealth, which was his live stock, by driving them into the inner parts of the country. He had thirty thousand cows, besides sheep and hogs.

When Essex arrived, Mac Phelim met him with congratulations, proffers of kindness, and apparent frankness : Mac Gillespie, Mac Guillie, Hugh, Baron of Dungannon, with the neighbouring chieftains, did the same.*

The Earl received them courteously, promising to pardon Mac Phelim's rebellion ; and by conciliation, tried to gain his good will. But within awhile, Phelim

again manifested his hostile temper, and joined by his confederates, had daily skirmishes with the English, which exhausted their patience, and Essex soon found himself forsaken by those who had accompanied him on this expedition. He found divers other causes of complaint, which he specified in a letter to the queen: the expedition, he said, was undertaken too late; supplies of provision delayed so long that they were tainted; soldiers inconsiderately chosen, &c. Further, he declared himself unable to bear the charges of the war; through the delay of the lord-deputy in not sending him his patent, he was not empowered to exercise any authority over the borderers.

He was willing, he said, still to bear one-half of the charge, if her majesty would carry on the service in her own name, and by her own command. This he entreated might be done. He afterwards made application to Sussex, Leicester, and Burleigh, to obtain from the queen pay for a hundred horse and as many foot; also to grant him the peninsular island of Mayo. The queen had now determined on recalling Essex to England, but Leicester and others opposing her wishes, she consented to his remaining in Ireland.

He was chiefly occupied in fortifying Clan-hu-boy, which he reluctantly left when his patent arrived, together with the deputy's orders that he should march to the borders of Ulster, where he encountered the rebel forces, led on by the Lord of Tyrone and O'Donnel. They avoided an engagement, by proposing one parley after another, until the summer passed away; and Essex, worn out with fruitless cares, saw the necessity of taking some

important steps to reclaim Ulster from the state of barbarism into which long neglect had brought that province.

1575. The deputy refusing to provide Essex with forces sufficient to prosecute his schemes for the civilization of Ulster, he sent in his resignation, which was not accepted. He found himself involved in great difficulties : Turlogh and the Baron of Dungannon treacherously watching to destroy him; unfriendly consultations in England whether or not to recal him; lamentable anarchy and disorders around him, which he felt persuaded two thousand men could settle; himself and friends disgraced without cause: all these grievances he patiently bore, and resuming the office of commander, he marched against Turlogh, when he received letters which absolutely required him to desist from contention, and make as honourable a peace as he could. After having complied with this order, he marched against the Hebridean Scots, who had seized upon Clan-hu-boy, whence he soon drove them to their lurking places. He then made an attack on the little island of Rathlin, put four hundred of the islanders to the sword, and forced the castle, wherein he placed a garrison; however, in the midst of these victories, contrary to his expectations, he received orders to resign his authority, and take that of an ordinary captain, with three hundred men.* Thus capriciously was he dealt with through the artful manœuvring of Leicester, who omitted nothing which might break the mild spirit of this object of his jealous hatred.

* Camden.

This year Sir Henry Sidney, was, for the third time, made Lord-Deputy of Ireland. The country was visited with pestilence, which spread far and wide. The deputy passed on to Ulster, where Mac Mahon, Mac Guire, Turlogh Lynogh, and other rebellious chieftains, fell on their knees imploring his protection.*

The Earl of Desmond landed at Dublin, on the 25th March, 1573, and was committed to the custody of the lord mayor, with injunctions to use him well. He remained a prisoner, at large, until the September following, when the newly appointed mayor, Christopher Fagan, informed the government that Desmond should have board and lodging with him freely—but he would take no charge of him. Permission had been granted to the earl to walk abroad upon his parole:—but he was not to be trusted. Under pretence of going to hunt, he effected his escape to Munster, where he soon formed a confederacy with men who advised him not to yield to the terms which government imposed; at the same time, they bound themselves, by oath, to spare neither life nor fortune in defending him: which solemn engagement was signed July 18, 1574.

He was proclaimed a traitor, with an offer of £1000 reward for his apprehension, and an annual pension of £40 if taken alive; and half the sum for his head.† Nevertheless, he was suffered to remain unmolested until the year 1576.

Sir Henry Sidney assisted in performing the last sad offices at the funeral of Sir Peter Carew, who died at

* Camden.

† Smith's *Kerry*.

Ross, in the county of Wexford, on his way to Cork, in 1575. The deputy honoured his memory by attending as a chief mourner. Sir Peter bore the character of a noble knight, of approved valour. He was the lawful heir of Fitz-Stephen, and Raymond le Gros, the original conquerors of Ireland. But, for a long time, the inheritance had been lost. Part of the property, the barony of Idrone, he had recovered.*

Sir Peter Carew had the merit of reclaiming Brian Mac Murchard, who was so effectually wrought upon by kindness, that he desisted from all hostilities against the English government, and thenceforward persevered in a sincere and zealous attachment to the crown. To Sir Peter Carew he devoted himself with an affection so strong that he never recovered his death: he pined with grief, and survived his beloved friend but a short time.†

The death of Essex, about this time, excited suspicion that Leicester was, in some way, accessory to it: which suspicion was strengthened by his marrying the widowed countess soon afterwards.

* Camden.

† Hooker.

CHAPTER IX.

Sir John Perrot, President of Munster—Kilmallock burnt by Fitz-Maurice—The Town rebuilt, and the Province tranquillized through the exertions of Perrot—1576, Sir William Drury made President of Munster—An Assessment laid on, obnoxious to the Lords, &c.—Landing of Foreigners, at Smerwick, with Fitz-Maurice—Murder of Danvers—Fitz-Maurice killed in a scuffle—Sir John of Desmond takes his Place—Bull issued—Sir William Drury, Lord-Deputy—Battle of Monaster-Neva—Allen Slain—Desmond's Dissimulation—He throws off the mask and openly declares himself a Rebel—He rejects all overtures, and is proclaimed a Traitor—His Castles taken and his Lands ravaged—Slaughter of the English Forces at Glendalough—Landing of a Reinforcement of Italians and Spaniards—They are besieged in their Fort and butchered—Cruelty of Captain Raleigh—Earl of Desmond hunted from place to place—Discovered in an old Ruin and slain—Some Account of Corkaguiney and Dingle.

1572. The queen sent Sir John Perrot to govern Munster, which was made desolate through the depredations of the Earl of Desmond and his lawless followers.

The Lord-President of Munster having landed at Waterford, was apprized of the necessity of vigorous measures to put an end to the excesses of this party.

James Fitz-Maurice, brother to the Earl of Desmond, had plundered and set fire to Kilmallock, after having hanged the chief magistrate and several of the inhabitants at the high cross in the market place.

Sir John Perrot, on his way from Cork to Limerick, saw the town lying in ruins, which drew from him the following observations, in a letter dated May 1 :—"The sight whereof so wholye burned, and the fayre buildings defaced, being no less grievous than the remembrance of the former estate thereof (by report made known unto me) is lamentable."

The president, at the head of his troops, issued orders for the rebuilding of the town, and strengthening of the walls. He pursued the insurgents with such success, that in little more than a year Munster was one of the most tranquil provinces in Ireland. James Fitz-Maurice was so completely subdued that, at the church of Kilmallock, "in the presence of a multitude of people," he lay prostrate, in the most abject manner, at the feet of the president, who held the point of his sword at his heart, in token that his life was in the hands of the queen.

Perrot had no actual engagement with the rebels, but in numerous skirmishes he had always the advantage, as his biographer describes—"In the bogs, he pursued them; in the thickets, he followed them; in the plains, he fought with them; in their castles, he besieged them." No danger, no difficulty, deterred this gallant officer. He braved cold and hardship; passing whole nights in the open fields when the snow lay on the ground, and the howling tempest stripped the trees

of their leaves. Yet how useful soever his services were, they did not save him from the accusations of enemies: an evil report was brought to the queen; and not waiting for a formal dismissal, he gave in his resignation, and went to England, in order to render an account of his government. This he did so much to the queen's satisfaction, that she signified her desire that he should resume it, but he objected on account of the council not approving of some regulations which he had recommended. With the queen's permission, he returned to his own house in Wales, where he hoped to recover his shattered health.

A few years afterwards, Sir John Perrot was summoned from his retreat to take the command of a squadron which was sent to oppose James Fitz-Maurice, who, after his insincere submission, went to Spain, and had obtained a promise of ships and men to invade Munster. Perrot continued cruizing about the coast of Waterford, with six ships, until the season was past for making any attempt on the country. On receiving intelligence that the Spaniards had given up the enterprise for that year, he returned with his fleet to England.

1576. Sir Henry Sidney writes from Limerick, on the 1st of February,—“Having left the citie of Cork, I lodged two nights by the way hetherwardes at my Lord Roches, where I and all my trayne were very largely and bountifullye entertained; and passing from thence, I entered into the countye of Limerick, and so lodged one night in the town of Kilmallock, which was lamentablye spoyled and bourned by that vile traytor and rebell, James Fitz-Morrice, but so spedily again re-edified, as

surelye it is not almost to be credited but by the constant report of theim that knew it and sawe it then, and nowe have perused and seine it agayne, for where there was not one rose nor flower left unbourned, few or no howsies are now within the walk uncovered, whereby the benefit of the English lawes and forces most sensiblye is felt, without which, the people confesse theim-selves, they would for ever have abandoned that place, and sought some habitacion; and the lyke desolacion become of that towne, as may be seine by ruynes of manye other within this land, whom Irish rebells have suppressed, and English forces and government faylinge, were never since restored."

1576. Sir William Drury, now Lord President of Munster, set about the reformation of that province. His first step was to break through the Earl of Desmond's assumed liberties, and hold assizes in his palitinate of Kerry, which had become a receptacle for rebels and disorderly persons. Desmond, who had been appointed a member of his council, objected; but finding that the president was determined, he consented to this regulation, offering his assistance, and inviting Sir William Drury to his castle of Tralee. The president, accepting the invitation, proceeded to Kerry with an escort of one hundred and forty men. Near Tralee he encountered a party of Desmond's men, consisting of from seven hundred to eight hundred, whom he resolutely charged, and put to flight. The Countess of Desmond, although she abhorred her husband's treachery, tried to throw a veil over it. She waited upon Sir William Drury, implored his pardon for her lord,

whose excuse she pleaded by saying, that the men had gone out to hunt, and on seeing the soldiers advance had fled.

The president seemed satisfied, but made no change in his determination of executing strict justice throughout the country,—at which the earl took such umbrage, that he drew up articles of complaint against him, with many bitter invectives, which he laid before the lord-deputy, and also by letters, forwarded to the lords of the council in England, but without effect; and he was obliged to deliver up several of his followers to justice, whom the president had convicted as disturbers of the country's peace.*

Tralee, anciently called Traleigh (*i. e.* the strand of the river Leigh), belonged to the Earl of Desmond. The castle of Tralee was his chief residence during the existence of his palatinate, and the place where he exercised his jurisdiction.

By the wisdom and courage of Sir William Drury, the whole province of Munster was brought into subjection to the law. An assessment was laid on the land, which the Earl of Desmond resisted, as did other lords, in different quarters, among whom were the Lord Viscount Baltinglass, the Barons Delvin, Howth, and Trimbleston,—saying that it ought not to be demanded but by authority of parliament.† This obnoxious tax is compared to one among the ancients, called “Canon Gleba,” which was a custom of paying corn yearly. “The payment is an exaction of provisions at a certain

* Smith's *Kerry*.

† Camden.

rate.” The men who were sent to England to complain of it, were first heard by the council, and then committed to prison; and those in Ireland, by whom they were sent, were also imprisoned until they submitted. It appeared, by the records of the kingdom, that this had been an ancient institution and privilege of the crown (called a royal prerogative), which is not subjected to the laws, and yet is not repugnant to the laws, as the learned in the laws have judged. But the queen commanded the lord-deputy to use moderation in demanding such exactions, saying, according to an old adage, that while her subjects “were polled,” they were “not to be flayed.” To which, it is said, she added,—“Ah ! how do I fear, lest it be objected to us concerning the Irish, which was objected, in old time, to Tiberius by Cato, concerning the Dalmatian commotions:—you, you it is that are in fault, who have committed your flocks, not to shepherds but to wolves.” *

About the year 1577 Queen Elizabeth received a visit from a celebrated Irish heroine. She was the daughter of Owen O'Maley, whose progenitors, from time immemorial, were in possession of a principality on the north-west coast of Ireland, extending from the lake called Lough Corrib, in the county of Galway, to Crogh Patrick, in the county of Mayo, and from thence to the borders of the city of Sligo. A considerable part of this territory is still called the Uisles of Maley. This fine fertile tract is mostly skirted by the sea, is in-

* Camden.

dented with excellent bays and harbours, and interspersed with very beautiful and valuable islands, many of them inhabited. The family motto, "Terra marique potens," seems to indicate the maritime affairs and naval exploits for which the O'Maleys were famous. The prince of that name, at the accession of Elizabeth, was noticed as a man of consequence by Sir Richard Bingham, provost-martial of the province of Connaught, at his assizes held for Mayo; and in 1576, the Lord-deputy Sidney had written to the council in England, that O'Maley was powerful in gallies and seamen. His daughter, Grace, known among the Irish by the name of Grana Uile, was the widow of O'Flaherty, another Irish chief. After his death, she married Sir Richard Bourke, styled Mac William Eighter, who died in 1585, leaving her the mother of three sons and a daughter. Grace O'Maley inherited the enterprising genius of her race, and often accompanied her father on his seafaring excursions. At his death he left but this daughter, and a son, several years her junior. Grace took upon herself the government of the principality, and, by maintaining her fleet for the protection of the family property and their castles, she kept them secure in very unsettled times. She was ever foremost in danger, and, to her firmness, courage, and conduct, her extraordinary success is attributed. The maritime enterprises of the O'Maleys appear to have been chiefly piratical. The coast was plundered of cattle and other property, and many people murdered in these excursions. On the north-west skirting of the island the natives trembled at the name of Grana Uile, whose fame attracted many

desperate and hardy mariners from distant parts. Her larger vessels were moored in Clare Island,* where she had a strong castle; her smaller craft at a castle which stands in a nook, or inlet, in the bay of Newport, in the county of Mayo. The name of this place is Carrick-a-Uile (*i. e.* the rock in the elbow), in allusion to an over-hanging mountain, or to the site of the castle built in a recess. This romantically-situated edifice is a strong square tower, about fifty feet high, divided into four stories. A hole in the castle wall is shown, through which a cable was passed from a vessel, and fastened to her bed, that she might be alarmed in time to prevent a surprise.

On one occasion she afforded valuable assistance to the English Government. A rebellious sept of the Burkes, numerous and powerful, then known by the Irish title, Clanagh Leeme, opposed the provost-martial, and a pitched battle ensued. Bingham was in danger of being overpowered by numbers, when Grana Uile “ordered her forces to fall on in behalf of the queen, which turned the fate of the day, the Burkes being completely defeated, and many of them taken prisoners, among whom were six chiefs, who, on the ensuing day,

* Exclusive of Carrick Ooley, the O'Maleys were in possession of many castles, one especially, in the valuable island of Clare, in which is a fine harbour and quay, and so much esteemed by Oliver Cromwell, that he erected a fort and barrack in it, in which he kept a garrison during the protectorship. Grace endowed a monastery on it, in which she lies interred, with her arms and motto still to be seen on her tomb-stone, quartered with those of her husband. It seems this island is still an estate in that name, and continued, till lately, the family burial place.

were tried for high treason, at a sessions specially held for the purpose, convicted, and hanged, at Clogher Lucas." For this essential service, in the immediate establishment of the English government in that county, Elizabeth expressed her thanks to Grace O'Maley, in a letter (extant in the papers of her descendant, the late Viscount Mayo), with an invitation to the English court. She accepted the invitation, and appeared before the queen, in the costume of her country. She had on a yellow bodice and petticoat; her hair being gathered on the crown, was fastened with a bodkin, and over all she wore a long loose mantle, which covered her head, as well as her whole person. She was received in state, the queen being surrounded by her ladies. On Elizabeth's offer to create her a countess she declined the honour, saying, that as they were both princesses, equal in rank, no dignity could be conferred on either by the other. Yet, although she could not accept of any title for herself, she signified a desire that her infant son might receive this mark of distinction from her majesty. He had been born on ship-board, and hence named Tubodnugh Lung (*i. e.* Toby of the Ship). The queen consenting, sent for the baby, and knighted him. He was afterwards, by patent, created Lord Viscount Mayo.*

On Fitz-Maurice's application to Philip of Spain, he referred him to Gregory XIII. Having received encouragement and promises of assistance from both these potentates, Fitz-Maurice sailed for Ireland, with

* *Anthologia Hibernica*, May, 1794.

his Spanish allies, and two doctors of divinity, Saunders and Allen, sent by the pope. The first was an English priest, with the authority of a legate. Allen was an Irishman. They landed about the middle of summer, at a peninsular in Kerry, called St. Mary Wick, or Smerwick. On a spot blessed by the two priests, Fitz-Maurice erected a fort, under which he drew up his ships. But they were taken shortly after by a man of war, commanded by Thomas Courtney,—hence they were deprived of the means of escape. Sir John of Desmond joined the party with others of his followers. The earl would gladly have done the same, but delayed from prudential motives;—yet he collected his forces.

As soon as the deputy, Sir H. Sidney, had ascertained the actual landing of the Spaniards, not being fully aware how deeply the Desmonds were engaged in the conspiracy, he sent a message to the earl to hold himself in readiness for an attack upon the fort. The emissary employed on this occasion, was a faithful and steady friend of the Desmonds—Henry Danvers, an English gentleman, who had resided long in Ireland, and gained universal esteem and approbation. Amidst scenes of atrocious tumult—he took no part in their feuds; while, by conciliatory measures, he tried to benefit both English and Irish. He had been appointed to the government of Cork at the same time that Sir John of Desmond was made Governor of Kerry. The latter, by extravagance and mis-conduct, had been in prison several times:—on such occasions, Danvers was ever ready to step forward to assist him, which formed be-

tween them a sort of filial bond, and they always addressed each other by the endearing names of "my father,—my son."

Danvers, in fulfilling the deputy's orders, would have persuaded the earl and his brother to obey, but not being able to prevail with them he returned to Tralee. On that night, he was roused from his slumbers by an unusual noise;—starting up, he saw Sir John of Desmond, with a drawn sword in his hand:—"O, is it you, my son?" exclaimed the old man.—"No son of thine," answered Desmond—plunging his sword into the heart of his benefactor. Among his attendants Danvers had a faithful Irish servant, who tried to ward off the fatal stab, he alone of Danvers' servants escaped from the weapons of the assassins.

Reeking with the blood of his victims, Sir John of Desmond returned to the fort, and, addressing himself to Saunders, he said, "let this blood be a pledge of my fidelity to you, and to the cause of religion." The legate commended the deed, and called it "a sweet sacrifice in the sight of God." James Fitz-Maurice did not approve of the time when, and the place where, the murder was committed: he wished it had been by the way-side, rather than in his bed, during the silence of night. The Earl of Desmond most heartily condemned the base transaction.

1579. When notice was given to Captain Thomas Courtney of the landing of the Spaniards, he being commander of one of the queen's ships at Kinsale, took the fleet which brought them over. This intelligence was conveyed by Mr. Henry Danvers, who

was then at Tralee. He was appointed to execute justice in the queen's name, with the provincial judges, Mead and Chartres, when they were all barbarously murdered in their beds, and all their servants, by Sir John of Desmond, the brother of the earl; who did it to ingratiate himself with the rebels, though Danvers had been his gossip, a tie of great affinity among the Irish. This massacre so exasperated Queen Elizabeth, that she was resolved to destroy the power of the earl in this country, and abolish the palatinate jurisdiction, which his rebellion soon after gave a very just and sufficient reason to put into execution. His ancestors had likewise set up a very strange privilege, that of not attending any parliament, or grand council, or coming within any walled town, but at their will and pleasure; which pretended prerogative, James, Earl of Desmond, the father of the last earl, had surrendered, by his deed in the Chancery of Ireland, 32 King Henry VIII. (according to Sir J. Davies's *Historical Collections*.) He submitted himself to Sir Anthony St. Leger, Lord-Deputy, took an oath of allegiance, and covenanted that he would suffer the laws of England to be executed in his country, assist the king's judges in their circuits, and permit subsidies to be raised upon his followers; but this was never performed, either by him or his successors.*

The foreigners, to whom Fitz-Maurice had promised great things, seeing themselves joined only by a few miserable unarmed Irishmen, gave way to murmuring

* Smith's *Kerry*.

and great apprehension. They found no way of escape, either by sea or by land, from threatening dangers. Fitz-Maurice still tried to encourage them by assurances that succour was near. He went himself to Connaught and Ulster, to collect a force among the discontented and seditious. In passing through the lands of his kinsman, Sir William Burke, he seized two horses which were ploughing in a field by the road-side, and mounted two of his kerns. The ploughmen pursuing them, with loud shouting, drew together a number of the tenants, with Sir William Burke's sons: they soon overtook Fitz-Maurice, who thus addressed the eldest son of Sir William,—“Cousin Theobald, sure it is not a couple of garrons that would separate us?” These young men had been engaged in the rebellion, but retracted, and made their peace. Hoping to win them back, Fitz-Maurice made use of many arguments in favour of the cause in which he was engaged; but Theobald told him that they had sincerely repented of their rashness, and having received the queen's forgiveness, they hoped never again to incur her displeasure. They resolutely demanded their horses, which Fitz-Maurice as resolutely refused to deliver up. A scuffle ensued, which ended fatally. Fitz-Maurice and two of the sons of Sir William Burke were killed. The head of Fitz-Maurice was fixed on a pole at the gate of Kilmallock. The queen wrote letters of condolence to the bereaved father, on whom she conferred the title of Baron of Castle Conell, with a yearly pension, which he did not live to enjoy.

When the Spaniards heard of the death of Fitz-

Maurice, they solicited permission to return to their own country ; but the Irish rebels still encouraged them with hopes of success. Sir John of Desmond was now the leader of the forces. He had been suspected of a want of cordiality in the church's interest.

Saunders, the pope's legate, who had been sent over with a consecrated banner, and papal authority to bless those who assisted, and to curse those who resisted the rebels against the Queen Elizabeth, required of Sir John some unequivocal proof that he never would be reconciled to the heretical church before any confidence could be placed in him. Sir John consenting to the conditions, planned the murder of his friend and benefactor, Danvers, as already related.*

After this the following bull was issued :—

“Gregory the Thirteenth, to all and singular archbishops, &c. Whereas, by our letters of former years, we exhorted you, that for the purpose of recovering your liberty, and maintaining it against the heretics, you would join with James Geraldine, of happy memory, who strove zealously to shake off from you the yoke of the English, the deserters from the holy Roman church: and whereas, that you might the more vigorously second him in his efforts against your enemies and the enemies of God, we granted unto all, who confessing and being contrite, should join his army, or in any way aid him with counsel, arms, provisions, or in any manner soever, the plenary remission of all their sins, and the same

* See O'Sullivan, *Hist. Cath.*, p. 93.

indulgences which are accustomed to be granted by the Roman pontiffs unto those who war against the Turks for the recovery of the holy land: and whereas, we have lately learned with much affliction, that the aforesaid James has fallen bravely fighting against the enemy, and that our beloved son John, his cousin, a man of eminent piety and valour, has been moved by God to undertake the same cause, and has achieved many noble actions in defence of the catholic faith; we, therefore, do exhort, require, and urge, all and singular of you, in the Lord, that you do unto the same John and his army, as unto James aforesaid; and, trusting in the mercy of Almighty God, and the authority of his holy apostles, Peter and Paul, we renew to you the indulgences contained in our letters to the said James, provided you afford any of the aids therein mentioned, to the said John and his army, or, *after his death* (if, which God avert, he should be cut off), *to his brother James, and those who shall adhere to him, &c. &c.*

“ Given from St. Peter’s, at Rome,

“ Under the ring of the fisherman,

“ The 13th day of May, 1580.” *

Sir William Drury encamped near Kilmallock, with a small body of horse and foot. The Earl of Kildare, and other nobles of the Pale, joined him with some additional forces. Several English officers, well trained in Irish warfare, among whom we find the names of Bagnal, Wingfield, and Malby, were enlisted in the

* Mac Gheoghan’s *Histoire d’Irlande*. Tome 2.

same service. Nine weeks were consumed in vain endeavours to come to an engagement with Sir John of Desmond, who hovered round, and harassed the army, without coming in contact with them.

The lord-deputy despatched a messenger to the Earl of Desmond, requiring his presence; he delayed for some time, but at length made his appearance, sufficiently attended with cavalry and foot soldiers. The deputy, having found out that he held correspondence with the Spaniards, committed him to the knight-marshal's custody. Apprehensive of worse consequences, the earl submissively entreated that he might be brought to the deputy, before whom he swore allegiance to the queen, and engaged himself, with strong asseverations, henceforth to serve her faithfully against the rebels. Unhappily, the deputy believed, and enlarged him.

Sir John of Desmond, having encamped near Slieve-logher, Sir William Drury drove him from thence, and pursued him so closely, that often he occupied the position at night, which Desmond had left in the morning. The latter, by means of an ambush, surprised a detachment of the English army, cut them to pieces, and killed two officers, Herbert and Price, with little loss to himself.

The royal army was quickly reinforced from England with the addition of six hundred men, while Sir John Perrot was sent, with six men-of-war, to defend the coast. New proofs were found that the Earl of Desmond took part with the rebels. The constitution of Sir William Drury gave way under his efforts to subdue

them. On his way to Waterford, where he hoped to recover his health, the Countess of Desmond met him, with her only son;—throwing herself upon her knees, she presented the child as a hostage for his father's fidelity. Sir William accepted this precious pledge, whom he committed to the care of the Earl of Ormond.

On retiring, he deputed Sir Nicholas Malby to command the army, and to be President of Munster. He was an experienced old soldier, and had been the Governor of Connaught. His whole forces consisted of nine hundred foot, and one hundred and fifty horse: three hundred and fifty of which were left in garrison at Kilmallock. Malby, determined on losing no time, marched into a wild woody country, near Limerick, where he heard that Desmond lay with a strong force. He encountered them in a plain, near to which stood an old abbey, called Monaster Neva. They were formed in battle array, about two thousand in number; and Allen, the Irish Jesuit, going from rank to rank, proclaimed his benedictions and assurances of victory. He officiated, on this occasion, as priest, commander, and soldier,—displaying, together with the papal banner, the keys of St. Peter and the sword of St. Paul.* After the well-fought battle was over, his body was found among the slain.

When Sir John saw that the English conquered, he betook himself to flight, leaving his men to be slaughtered.† His brother, the Earl of Desmond, beheld the battle from an adjoining eminence, but took no part in

* Phelan's *Remains*.

† Camden.

it. Deep in dissimulation, he wrote congratulatory letters to the president, and advised him to remove his camp from thence. Malby had discovered, from papers found in the possession of Allen, that the earl had not ceased to assist the rebels: he therefore sent back his messenger with an order that he should forthwith join his forces to the queen's army. After four days waiting in vain, Malby marched to Rathkeal, a small town belonging to the earl, who made this a pretext for throwing off the mask, and openly declaring himself a rebel. In the darkest hour of that night, he made an attack upon the camp, which he found too strongly fortified to be of any avail.* The president afterwards, by friendly exhortations, in a letter addressed to the earl, tried to induce him to return to his allegiance. He represented the foul stain of rebellion, which would not only cast a cloud over the ancient dignity of the house of Desmond, but cover his own posterity with infamy. This, however, produced no effect upon the earl; he continued obstinately bent upon resistance, and strengthened his forces by the addition of some Spaniards, lately arrived, and also an increase of Irish adherents.

Malby, after having placed a garrison at Rathkeal, marched to Askeaton, another of the earl's castles, situated upon a rock surrounded by the river Askeaton, and kept by a party of soldiers, but before he made an attack upon this fortress, news of the death of Sir William Drury deprived him of all authority in

* Camden; Leland; Smith's *Kerry*.

Munster. He disposed his soldiers in garrison towns, and then retired to his government in Connaught.

The rebels, encouraged by this event, agreed to block up all the garrison towns, hoping that by famine, they could subdue the English and free themselves from their power.

Pursuant to this resolution, Desmond besieged Adair, where William Stanley and George Carew were quartered. The garrison, in dread of hunger, the worst of all evils, made such frequent sallies that they wearied the besiegers, who raised the siege and left the soldiers at liberty to provide themselves with necessaries from the country.

Sir William Pelham was now made Lord-Justice of Ireland, and the Earl of Ormond President of Munster.

During the reign of Queen Mary, Lord Kerry's son, Patrick, had been sent as a hostage to England. He was born in 1541, and received his education in England. He had an employment in Queen Elizabeth's court, and stood high in her favour. At this time, having obtained her permission to visit his father, he came to Ireland, and was soon afterwards prevailed on to join the Earl of Desmond, and take up arms against the queen.* The English had a small boat, capable of holding eight persons; by this means they ferried one hundred and twenty men across the Shannon, into the knight of Glyn's country, where they made great havoc; but not returning in time, the knight and Sir John of Desmond, with four hundred foot and thirty horse, attacked them;

* Smith's *Kerry*.

however, they made good their retreat after some loss on both sides.

The newly-appointed lord-justice having required the Earl of Desmond to come to him at his camp, near Cashel, he sent the countess instead, with excuses; but these not proving satisfactory, the Earl of Ormond was despatched with the following requisitions:—That the Earl of Desmond should deliver up Saunders and the foreigners whom he had taken under his protection; also, his castles of Askeaton and Carrigfoile, submitting himself unreservedly to the queen, and instantly uniting all his forces to her's against the rebel army led on by his brothers. On these conditions full pardon was offered him; but in case of non-compliance, he was to be proclaimed a traitor and enemy to his country. His answer, dated at Crogh, October 30, was filled with complaints of past injuries unredressed, with frivolous excuses, and assertions of what a good subject he had been, and still was, although he refused to submit to the conditions required of him.

The lord-justice, very unwilling to proceed to extremities, made still farther overtures to reform and pacify this refractory lord; but these also failing, the Earl of Ormond, the Lords Mountgarret and Dunboyne, the Bishop of Waterford, Sir Nicholas Malby, Sir Edmund Butler, and others, signed the proclamation which declared him to be a traitor and an enemy to his country. He was accused of high treason, for tampering with foreign princes to bring about the conquest and overthrow of his native country; for aiding Fitz-Maurice and Saunders; for harbouring the Spaniards when they

escaped from their fort; for executing several of her majesty's faithful subjects ; for holding up the pope's banner in defiance of the queen; and for bringing foreigners into the realm.

The proclamation was published at Rathkeal, on the 2nd of November, 1579, and included the names of all the earl's confederates. About an hour after it was read, the Countess of Desmond repaired to the camp, earnestly interceding for her unhappy lord, but in vain—there was no more mercy for him; a military force marched to his territory with fire and sword. On the same day, he erected his standard of rebellion at Ballyhownd, in the county of Cork, and commenced his operations by an attack on Youghal, which he ransacked, carrying off the spoil to his castles Strancally* and Lisfineen, which were garrisoned by Spaniards. On the 29th of November, he wrote an arrogant letter to the lord-justice, purporting that he and his friends had undertaken the defence of the Romish religion, sanctioned by, and with the authority of the pope and the King of Spain,

* Two miles from Headborough: the castle of Strancally is built upon a rock directly over the river. There was a passage of considerable length, breadth, and depth, cut through the rock, from the castle to the river. There is a tradition that this kind of cave was used by the Earl of Desmond, as a prison in which he incarcerated men of property in this part of the country, whom he treacherously invited to his castle; and, when merry with wine and good cheer, they were inveigled into this dungeon and heard of no more—there is a hole cut through the rock, down which the bodies were cast into the river—this tyrannical earl then seized upon their lands and effects. One person had the good fortune to escape from this oubliette, or dungeon, by whom information of these horrible practices was given ; and both the castle and cave were destroyed by gunpowder. Half of the castle was blown up, and the cave laid open.—*Smith's Waterford.*

whom he advised his lordship to join,* or hazard his soul's salvation.

1580. Sir W. Pelham having, we would hope, a surer foundation to rest on than popery offered for his soul's safety, gave no heed to Desmond's advice, while he assembled several of the principal men of Munster, in order to engage their services in putting down this rebellion: some complied willingly; others, by compulsion. A strong party of English and Irish lineage espoused the cause of Desmond and Rome, amongst whom was Lord Baltinglas.

There were several skirmishes, in which Desmond lost a great number of his men; his towns were burnt, his lands were wasted, and his castles taken.

Carrigfoile was beseiged by the lord-justice. It was guarded by Julio, an Italian engineer, with nineteen Spaniards and fifty Irish. In viewing the place, the life of Pelham was endangered by a musket ball; he caused the castle to be battered with three pieces of ordnance, &c. A breach being made, Captain Macworth mounted it and stormed the castle; fifty men were killed, besides which, six more were hanged. Julio was retained a prisoner for some days, when, not complying with the lord-justice's requisitions, he also was executed. The castles of Ballylollane and Askeaton were abandoned by their garrisons as soon as they perceived the approach of the English army.

From hence Sir W. Pelham proceeded to Kerry, over the boggy ground of Slieveagher, with burning and

* Smith's *Kerry*.

slaughter, and took great spoil of cattle. The earl, his countess, and Saunders, narrowly escaped being captured on the 15th of June; all the legate's clothes and most of his baggage were taken.*

The Earl of Desmond, and his brother John, were so much discouraged by their losses, that instead of attempting another engagement they fled from place to place for shelter. Again the Countess of Desmond presented herself before Sir William Pelham to intercede for her lord, but he dismissed her without hope. The earl then made application to Admiral Sir William Winter (who was at Ventry harbour with three of the queen's ships), to convey him to England, in order that he might ask mercy of the queen.†

1580. Arthur, Lord Grey, being appointed Lord-Deputy of Ireland, Sir William Pelham having committed the conduct of the army in Munster to George Bouchier, son to the Earl of Bath, proceeded himself to Dublin, where he delivered up his charge to his successor. Before the ceremony of delivering up the sword and ensigns of command could take place, the attention of Lord Grey was directed to the lawless state of the county of Wicklow; hordes of depredators lay concealed among the beautiful vallies of Glendalough, under the command of two powerful chieftains, Fitz-Eustace Fitz-Gerald, and Pheogh Mac Hugh, the leader of the powerful clan of the O'Byrnes.

Lord Grey acted with too much precipitation: without

* Smith.

† This is Camden's statement, from which Smith's account differs; he says that the earl would not submit to the queen.

consulting the veteran officers, who, from experience and practice, could have pointed out the safest mode of attack, he mustered his forces and marched to Glendalough, twenty-five miles from Dublin, hoping that, by a sudden surprise, the insurgents would be driven out of their hiding places. The fertile valley exhibited no symptoms of men in arms: the long grass was untrodden, and nothing was seen on the high, precipitous, banks but evergreen-holly, furze, jutting rocks, and trees, which left no space uncovered. Under these the enemy lurked. Innumerable paths and cross-ways were unseen by which they ascended and descended unperceived. Before the troops were taken in the snare, Lord Grey was warned of the danger which awaited them; nevertheless, he hurried them on, and no sooner had they entered the glen than they were assailed on all sides by a shower of small shot, like "the pelting of a pitiless storm," which strewed the valley with dead bodies. A few escaped by clambering up the rocks. Four of their best officers fell—Cosby, Peter Carew, the younger, George Moore, and Audley, men of approved valour and experience.

The deputy, and the Earl of Kildare, were stationed upon a hill—the master of the ordnance, James Wingfield, being there also; by retaining one of his nephews, George Carew, his life was spared for better service.

Lord Grey's return to Dublin, with the shattered remnant of his forces, was a melancholy commencement of his administration.

The landing of a reinforcement from Spain being expected, Sir William Winter, Vice-Admiral of England,

was sent to guard the coast, and lay, with a few ships, in Ventry harbour. After waiting for some time, the admiral returned with his fleet to England; and when the foreigners arrived, they met with no opposition. At the end of September, the Italian admiral, San Giuseppe, with seven hundred men, Italians and Spaniards, landed at Smerwick. They made new works to strengthen the fort, which they called Fort del Ore. But they abandoned it when they heard of the approach of Lord Ormond with his army; and, guided by some Irishmen, they concealed themselves in the valley of Glenigalt, where steep hills and woods enclosed them. Some of these fugitives being overtaken, were brought to the earl, to whom they made important discoveries. They said they were but seven hundred strong, and had brought arms for five thousand,—also cannon, ammunition, and money. They expected more men from Spain every hour. The pope and King of Spain had agreed to expel the English from Ireland, and, with that intent, had sent a large sum of money, which had been committed to Saunders, to the Earl of Desmond, and John his brother.

Ormond had no means of attacking the enemy, being unprovided with artillery and other necessaries: the Spaniards soon discovered this, and, under the cover of night, made their way back to the fort.

The president withdrew to Rathkeal, where he was joined by the lord-deputy, with Captains Zouch, Raleigh, Denny, Macworth, and other officers, commanding eight hundred men. At the same time, Admiral Winter returned from England with his men-of-war.

Thus the fort was invested by sea and land; but previous to an attack, Lord Grey sent a herald to the fort, demanding who they were, by whom they were sent, and for what purpose they had erected a fort in the Queen of England's dominions? * from whence they were commanded, at their peril, instantly to depart.

Their answer was resolute—that Queen Elizabeth had, by her heresy, forfeited all claim to the kingdom of Ireland, which the pope had transferred to the King of Spain : that they were sent by these great potentates to extirpate heresy, and deliver up the kingdom to Philip.

They made a vigorous sally, but were repulsed with loss. The same night the foreigners were besieged by sea and land. By order of Admiral Winter a way was cut through a bank which lay between the fort and the shore; the ordnance, taken out of the ships, was drawn up, and a battery formed before day : and Lord Grey had likewise made preparations by land. The enemy being hemmed in on every side, were again invited to surrender, but still refusing, the destructive engines of war were set to work with great execution. After four days' siege, San Giuseppe, in dismay, proposed their yielding up the fort : the other officers in command, Hercules Pisano in particular, objected, as a thing dis-

* 1568. Elizabeth was excommunicated by four popes in succession, and her subjects were absolved from their allegiance. Consecrated plumes and banners, men, money, and ammunition, were poured into Ireland; special indulgences and pledges of absolution were granted to all who should rise in rebellion :—extending to the third generation. Similar graces were granted for praying according to a form which is enjoined in Ireland to this day,—“for the extirpation of heresy, the union of catholic princes, and the exaltation of holy church.”—*Church of Rome in Ireland*, by W. Phelan, D.D. Vol. ii. p. 167.

honourable to themselves, and discouraging to the Irish, who, they doubted not, would soon come to relieve them. But they did not arrive, neither was the succour sent from Spain, which they expected ; wherefore, on the fifth day, they hung out a white flag and craved a parley. This was denied : they had joined themselves with rebels, with whom it is not lawful to parley. They then besought permission to depart, with their luggage; this also being refused, they earnestly entreated that their general and leading men might have liberty to return home—neither was this request granted. The lord-deputy commanded them to submit at discretion.

Finding they could obtain no terms, they hung up their white flag again, and cried “ Miseracordia! Misericordia!” absolutely throwing themselves on the mercy of the lord-deputy ; who, it is said, shed tears because the mercy for which they pleaded was not shown.* On consulting with his officers, the slaughter of the men was deemed indispensable, as the rebel army, fifteen thousand strong, was at hand, and their own soldiers ready to mutiny, if not supplied with food and clothing taken from the fort. It was also alleged, that there was no shipping to convey the foreigners to their own country. Such were the reasonings which were to justify the cruel carnage which followed. The Italian general and some of the officers were made prisoners of war: the rest, after having delivered up their arms, were butchered in cold blood ! Some Irish who were found among the garrison, were hanged. When the queen

* Camden.

heard this, she heartily disapproved of the cruel expediency. The English company sent to execute it, was commanded by Sir Walter Raleigh.*

Edmund Spenser was secretary to Lord Grey, and near the scene of action: he refutes some Romish calumnies, which aggravated the crime.

Smith recounts a piece of cruelty committed by Captain Raleigh, which is a stain upon his memory. Being well acquainted with the habits of the Irish, he remained some hours in ambush, watching, until he found that a number of Desmond's kernes were in the forsaken camp, trying to pick up any plunder left by the English: he fell upon them and relentlessly cut them to pieces.

After the Fort del Ore was demolished, the lord-deputy returned to Dingle, where his forces were supplied with provisions brought in by the Earl of Ormond. All that had been found in the fort was given to Captain Zouch, who was appointed, with four hundred and fifty men, to govern the province. Several of his men had been carried off, at Dingle, by some contagious malady; with the remainder he marched towards Castlemaine, and came suddenly upon the Earl of Desmond and David Barry, who were assembling their forces near Aghadoe. The earl fled, in his shirt, towards the wood of Aharlow, in the county of Limerick. Passing by Kilmallock, he was perceived by the garrison, and pursued three miles of the way, but gaining the wood, for that time, he escaped. Shortly afterwards Captain

* Leland.

Dowdal made an attack upon him, killed several of his men, and took his carriages and a great prey of cattle, which he drove to Kilmallock.*

Zouch, the Governor of Munster, made Cork his headquarters. Sir John of Desmond, and James Fitz-John, were taken by his means, and afterwards executed.

The earl lay quiet in some of his fastnesses, and not being heard of, the army was reduced to four hundred foot and fifty horse. Lord Kerry, taking advantage of this weak state of the forces, made an attack upon Adair, and slew the greater part of the garrison, with their commanding officer, his son Patrick aiding him, who had been brought up at the court of Elizabeth. A few of the men who escaped, afterwards recovered the fortress.

At length Captain Zouch came up with the rebels, in the wood of Lisconnel. He had but four hundred men to contend against seven hundred. Lord Kerry fled at the first charge, leaving his cattle for a prey. After this he encountered Captain Dowdal, who defeated him, killing many of his men, and taking all his provisions, eight hundred cows and five hundred horses, which reduced him to such distress, that he applied to the Earl of Ormond for relief and protection, which this nobleman generously granted, and procured for him the queen's pardon, though, without cause, he had ravaged his country.

1582. Desmond, who had lain long in retirement, again took the field. He attacked the garrison of Adair;

* Smith's *Kerry*.

the men saved themselves with difficulty by escaping to the abbey.

About this time, Saunders, the pope's nuncio, died miserably in the wood of Clonlish. His mortal malady was the effect of starvation and privations of every kind.*

The lords-justices, Loftus and Wallop, exerted themselves to bring the Earl of Desmond to a proper sense of his duty, but he held out, saying—"that he would rather forsake his God than his men." From henceforward, he wandered from place to place, frequenting woods and fastnesses, without daring to repose in any habitation of man. In a wood near Kilmallock, he kept his Christmas,—but was attacked at daybreak by a party of soldiers from the town. The alarm reached him in his bed,—from whence he started, unclothed, and fled with his countess:—they got under a bank into a river, where they stood with their heads only above water,—thus escaping from their pursuers: but all the earl's attendants were slain, and his effects taken. A great number of the rebels submitted to the Earl of Ormond, and obtained the queen's pardon. The Earl of Desmond, bereft of all hope, wrote a most submissive letter to the Earl of Ormond, on the 5th of June, 1583, of which no notice was taken. The month following, the garrison at Kilmallock received information that Desmond had assembled sixty gallowglasses in Aharlow wood: they sallied forth, and surprised a party, some of whom were asleep, while others were boiling horse-flesh; not one

* Smith's *Kerry*.

of them escaped. Desmond fled to Duhallow, where he was attacked by a party of Lord Roche's men, through which he and his followers forced their way, and escaped; some by means of their good horses. One only, his chaplain or priest, was taken captive, by whom information was given to Ormond of Desmond's miserable condition—lurking in corners, in continual dread of being taken; without sustenance, except such as was secretly conveyed to him by one Gowran Mac Swiney, who had been a captain of gallowglasses, but was then under protection.

This man being killed soon after, the earl was left more destitute than ever. In absolute want of provisions, he sent a few trusty servants over Tralee strand towards Castlemaine, to take some cattle. Unfortunately, the whole stock of a poor woman, whose name was Moriarty, fell into their hands—she had but a few cows, yet the loss was to her irreparable; and she made her lamentation to her brother, Owen Moriarty, who was determined, if possible, to recover the cows. He made application to the English governor of Castlemaine, who furnished him with seven musketeers and twelve kernes; with these, he followed the track of the cattle, until they arrived, at night, in a wood four miles east of Tralee. Here they determined to halt; but, at midnight, perceiving a fire at a short distance, they assembled together, and one of the company advanced noiselessly to reconnoitre. He soon returned, and said that he had discovered five or six persons in an old ruin; whereupon they all proceeded to make further investigation. At the sound of their feet the men fled from the ruin, all

but one old man, who sat still at the fireside. Daniel Kelly,* an Irish soldier, struck his arm with his sword, nearly cutting it off : raising his sword again over the head of the veteran, he cried out,—“O spare me ! I am the Earl of Desmond!” Kelly desisted. But the effusion of blood caused such excessive weakness, that to remove him was out of the question ; therefore recommending him to prepare for death, the same hand that had wounded him, struck off his head ; which being sent to the queen, she had it fixed upon London bridge.* For this service, Kelly was rewarded with a pension of £20, which he had for thirty years; after that, he was hanged at Tyburn.

This melancholy termination of the Earl of Desmond's life took place on the 11th of November, 1583.

The Earl of Ormond, having divided his force into two bodies, led one to Castle Island, and sent the other to Tralee, whence, being again united, they marched in three divisions towards Dingle: they drove the inhabitants of Corkaguiney before them, killed many people, and took eight hundred cows, besides sheep and horses. Sir William Winter, then in Ventry harbour, granted protection to a number of the distressed people.*

The Irish word Corkaguiney means, in English, a fertile country. It is a peninsula, twenty-four Irish miles in length, and eight in breadth. Camden says, “It shoots, like a little tongue, into the sea, roaring on both sides of it.” The bay of Dingle, or Castlemaine, on the south side; the bay of Tralee on the north. It

* Smith's *Kerry*.

contains twenty parishes, each of which once contained a parish church. Smith says, "Most of these churches were very large, as appears by their ruins." There are large tracts of mountains and barren rocks, on which old inclosures are traced, and other marks of former culture.

Dingle was formerly called Daingeun-ni-Cushy (*i.e.* the fastness or castle of Hussey). This settlement belonged to an old English family of that name, who built the first castle ever erected there. The vaults under it were afterwards used as the town jail.

Several of the houses were built of stone, in the Spanish style, with ranges of stone balcony windows, marble door and window frames. It is said the parish church was built by the Spaniards; it was originally a large structure, but scarcely a vestige of the ruin remains. An inscription on one of the houses is dated 1563, and on a stone beneath two roses, these words are carved—AT THE ROSE IS THE BEST WINE. The dates of many of the houses are in Queen Elizabeth's time, some earlier. Camden says, "That in his time, the harbours and sea-coasts of the country were annually visited by a considerable fleet of Portuguese and Spaniards in the very depth of winter, to fish for cod," &c. &c.

On the north side of Smerwick harbour, the fortification was built, which the Spaniards called Fort del Ore. It was thrown up near the edge of a cliff which formed a small isthmus, about ten yards square, nearly surrounded by the sea. The country people believe that the Spaniards buried the pope's consecrated banner,

with a considerable quantity of treasure, in the vicinity of this place. About a mile from the fort, the Spaniards erected a small chapel, near to which, in Smith's time, several corselets of pure gold were found on the estate of William Mullens, Esq., by some labourers, who were trenching potatoes. The landlord's portion of this treasure was worth £26 sterling.*

The barony of Imokilly lies at the eastern extremity of the county of Cork. The land is fertile, diversified by high grounds and valleys opening upon the harbours of Cork and Youghal. Its ancient inhabitants were called by Ptolemy, the Vodii, which signifies persons inhabiting a woody territory; which also is the literal meaning of the Irish word Imokilly. The town of Youghil,† anciently called Ochill, took its name from the same circumstance; hence we infer that this entire tract of land, even to the sea, was an immense forest. The strand of Youghal is turf-bog covered with sand and pebbles, in which great quantities of timber-trees are found, chiefly fir and hazel. Several large horns belonging to the moose deer have been dug up in this strand, and also the skeleton of a monstrous unknown animal was discovered, which was again covered by the sea, and buried in the strand. Smith says, "I

* Smith's *Kerry*.

† The first potatoes that were brought to Ireland were landed at Youghal, by Sir Walter Raleigh. On their first growth it was supposed that the apple was the fruit to be eaten, but not being relished, the roots remained neglected in the ground, and spread, until in time, their value was discovered. Sir Walter Raleigh also brought hither tobacco, from Virginia, and the celebrated Affane cherry, from the Canary islands.

saw one of the shoulder bones in Youghal, it is three feet and a-half long, and weighs above one hundred weight.” *

On the attainder of the great Earl of Desmond, the following statement is given from good authority: *—

“ When this earl was attainted, September the 25th, 1582, he was possessed of a prodigious estate in the counties of Kerry, Cork, Waterford, and Limerick, his lands extending one hundred and fifty miles, and containing 574,628 acres of English measure, on which were many strong castles. He was lord of the regalities of the county palatine of Kerry, lord of Imokilly, &c. He had a great number of vassals, and of his kindred and surname, above five hundred gentlemen; raised coign and livery, *shragh*, &c., upon his tenants, through all the county of Limerick. He had all wrecks of the sea through all the ports and creeks of the county of Kerry; and thirteen shillings and fourpence out of every fishing boat in the port of Ventry and Ferriter’s Island. He was able to raise six hundred horse and two thousand foot at a call.

“ His possessions were utterly forfeited, and, by act of parliament, vested in the queen and her heirs; and the territories of the earl’s confederates were lavishly assigned to the English settlers; but on receiving the royal pardon, the white knight, and a few others of the ancient proprietors, had a part of their lands restored.”

During this reign the most sweeping confiscations were made, under the direct authority of the queen,

* Smith’s *Cork*.

whose object was to repress rebellion by forfeiture. By this means the power of the great chiefs was broken.

“All forfeited lands* were to be divided into manors and seignories, containing twelve thousand, eight thousand, six thousand, and four thousand acres each, according to a plot laid down. The undertakers to have an estate in fee-farm, yielding, for each seignory of twelve thousand acres, for the first three years, £33 6s. 8d.; to be discharged of all taxes whatsoever, except subsidies levied by parliament. Bogs, mountains, &c., when improved, but not before, to pay one half for each English acre. None admitted to have more than twelve thousand acres. No English planter to be permitted to convey to any mere Irish. The head of each plantation to be English, and the heirs female to marry none but men of English birth; and none of the mere Irish to be maintained in any family there.” Dated June 27, 1586.

Although, according to these articles, no grant to an undertaker was to exceed twelve thousand acres, yet, by letters patent, dated the 16th of October, (29 Eliz.) 1586, three seignories and a half, in the counties of Cork and Waterford, were granted to Sir Walter Raleigh. The grants were all given to English knights, esquires, and gentlemen, who were called undertakers, because they undertook to perform the several conditions specified in the queen's articles.

* Manuscript in Lismore, quoted in Smith's *Cork*.

CHAPTER X.

Spenser's Account of Lord Grey's Administration—Extracts from his "State of Ireland"—Sir John Perrot, Lord-Deputy—Parliament assembled in Dublin—Perrot's Stratagem to quell an Insurrection in Ulster—Misrepresentations sent against him to the Queen—Character of Hugh O'Neil—His conference with the Queen—Sir Richard Bingham's proceedings in Connaught—Calamitous state of Munster—Sir William Fitz-William, Lord-Deputy—Regrets of the Irish at losing Sir John Perrot—Spanish Armada—Fitz-William's severity—O'Neil's submission to the Queen—Hugh Roe O'Donnel's escape from Prison—Execution of Brien O'Rourke at Tyburn—Trinity College Founded—Sir William Russel, Lord-Deputy—O'Donnel's Victories—Spenser's Account of the Irish Bards, &c.

EDMUND SPENSER, writing of his own times, gives the following account of Lord Grey's administration:—
"All conspired in one to cast off subjection to the crown of England; nevertheless, through the most wise and valiant handling of that right noble lord, it got not that head which the former evils found. The kingdom was left, like a ship in a storm, amidst raging surges—unruled, undirected of any: for they to whom the government was committed, either fainted in their labour, or forsook their charge. But Lord Grey, like a

skilful pilot, steered carefully, and most strongly buffeted against the rising billows which threatened destruction; and he brought the vessel on so safely, that she rode peaceably for the space of twelve or thirteen years, all through his pains and excellent endurance."

Amongst contending factions, he must have had a tiresome, perplexing office. The county of Wicklow, and the vicinity of Dublin, were kept in commotion by the O'Byrnes, the O'Tooles, and Pheague Mac Hugh; the Kavanahs embroiled the counties of Carlow, Wexford, and Waterford; the O'Moores were the agitators of Leix, Kilkenny, and Kildare; the O'Connors in Ophally, and Longford; the O'Reileys and Kellys in Westmeath, Cavan, and Louth. Besides these there were many other turbulent factions.

A few quotations from Spenser's works will fill up some of our pages better than the confused detail of their contentions. During his residence at Kilcolman Castle, he wrote his celebrated poem, "The Faery Queen." The castle is now a total ruin; scarcely a remnant of its ancient walls marks its situation, on the north side of a beautiful lake, in the midst of a plain within two miles of Doneraile. The plain is bounded by the Waterford, Nagle, and Kerry mountains: also by the Ballyhowra hills, which Spenser calls "the mountains of Mole." Half the breadth of Ireland is comprehended in the view which this romantic situation commands, and when thickly wooded round, from the adjacent hills, a fine scope was given to the poet's descriptive powers, by which he immortalised the beauty of the limpid rivers and rivulets. While here, Spenser

contracted a friendship with Sir Walter Releigh, whom he calls “the shepherd of the ocean,” and thus expresses himself:—

“I sat, as was my trade,
Under the foot of Mole, that mountain hoar,
Keeping my sheep amongst the coolly shade
Of the green alders, by the Mulla’s shore.—
There a strange shepherd chanc’d to find me out,—
Whether allured with my pipe’s delight,
Whose pleasing sound yshrilled far about,
Or thither led by chance, I know not right.
Whom, when I asked from what place he came,
And how he hight? himself he did ycleep,
The shepherd of the ocean by name,
And said he came from far, from the main-sea-deep.”

Though born in indigence, Edmund Spenser could boast of an ancient, honourable descent. Disappointed of a fellowship at Cambridge, he quitted college in 1576.

He obtained a grant from Queen Elizabeth of Kilcolman Castle, with three thousand acres of land in the county of Cork, being a part of Desmond’s forfeited property.

Here the poet passed his days in peaceful obscurity, until Sir Walter Raleigh drew him from his retreat,—

“Under the foot of Mole, that mountain hoar,”

To visit England with him, in order to “initiate him in the art of pushing his fortune at court.”

Spenser laments his compliance with his friend’s advice, in the following lines:—

“Full little knowest thou that hast not tried
What hell it is in suing long to bide;
To lose good days that might be better spent;
To waste long nights in pensive discontent;

To speed to day, to be put back to morrow ;
To feed on hope, to pine with fear and sorrow ;
To have thy prince's grace, yet want her peer's ;*
To have thy asking, yet wait many years ;
To fret thy soul with crosses and with cares ;
To eat thy heart through comfortless despairs ;
To fawn, to crouch, to wait, to ride, to run ;
To spend, to give, to want, to be undone !”

He had presented three books of “The Faery Queen” to Elizabeth, in painful anxiety waiting her answer. At length he received £100 as a reward for his poetical genius;—mortified and disappointed, he returned to his seclusion. More was required of him than he was able to perform. He displayed superior talent and information in the discourse which he drew up on the state of Ireland, which is still read and valued. But he found it impossible to devise a plan for subduing and reforming the Irish people; which had been required of him. After ten years residence at Kilcolman, he returned to England for the purpose of publishing his poem.

During his absence, his castle was attacked by rebels under Lord Tyrone,—plundered and burned to the ground. His infant son and all the most valuable part of his property, were either consumed or carried off. In declining health, misery, and poverty, the Earl of Essex sent him twenty pieces of gold, which he returned, saying that “he had no time to spend.” Broken-hearted, he closed his wretched existence at an inn in King Street, Westminster, about 1598.

* Lord Burleigh exhorted the queen not to pay munificently for a song.

Though left to languish out his days in obscurity and want, the senseless remains of the poet received honourable interment in Westminster Abbey, in the poet's corner, where he wished to lie near Chaucer. His funeral was attended by the distinguished men of his time, and poets, who threw complimentary verses into his grave.*

When Raleigh no longer basked in the sunshine of the queen's favour, his friend celebrated his misfortune, in his pastoral of "Colin Clout's Come Home Again;" describing the shepherd of the ocean grieving for the lost favour of "Cynthia, the Lady of the Sea," meaning the queen.

Spenser did not approve of the English government's endeavours to suppress the Irish language, nor their laws against their manner of clothing themselves.

"It is unnatural," he says, "that any people should love another's language more than their own, so it is very inconvenient, and the cause of many evils. The child that sucketh the milk of the nurse, must of necessity learn his first speech of her: the which being the first innured to his tongue, is ever after most pleasing unto him, insomuch as though he afterwards be taught English, yet the smack of the first will always abide with him, and not only of the speech, but also of the manners and conditions. For besides that young children be like apes, which will affect and imitate what they see done before them, especially by their nurses, whom they love so well; they moreover draw into

* *Life of Sir W. Raleigh*, by Mrs. A. T. Thomson.

themselves, together with their milk, even the nature and disposition of their nurses, for the mind followeth much the temperature of the body: and also, the words are the image of the mind, so as they proceeding from the mind, the mind must needs be affected with the words, so that the speech being Irish, the heart must be Irish: 'for out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh.'

"There is another like law enacted against wearing of the Irish apparel, but nevertheless is it observed by any, or executed by them that have the charge: for they, in their private discretions, think it not fit to be forced on the poor wretches of that country, which are not worth the price of English apparel; nor expedient to be practised against the abler sort, by reason that the country doth yield no better. And were there better to be had, yet these were fitter to be used,—as namely, the mantle in travelling, because there be no inns where meet bedding may be had, so that his mantle then serves him for a bed. Then the leather jacket, in journeying and camping,—for that is fittest to be under his shirt of mail, and for any occasion of sudden service, as there happen many, to cover his trouse * on horseback.

"Again, the great linen roll which the women wear to keep their heads warm, after cutting their hair, which they do in any sickness. Besides their thick-folded linen shirts, their long-slieved smocks, their half-slieved coats, their silken fillets, and all the rest, they will devise some colour for, either of necessity, or of antiquity, or of comeliness."

* Trowsers.

Spenser specifies the following unnecessary, yet aggravating restrictions laid on the people:—They were prohibited from wearing saffron-coloured shirts, and the use of gilt bridles and petronels: the use of bows and arrows was enjoined, and all Irishmen found conversing with the English were to be taken for spies, and punished as such.

If a man owed a debt to another, if the payment thereof was demanded and not paid, he to whom the debt was contracted, had liberty to go and seize whatever he thought proper to assert was the value of the debt due to him, keeping possession of it until the debt was paid.

Spenser traces most of their customs to their Scythian origin. He says the Irish are very simple in trying to ennoble themselves by Spanish ancestors, since, of “all nations under heaven, the Spaniard is most mingled, and most uncertain.” Yet he does not assert this as derogatory to the Spanish, for it is the same with all the nations in Christendom; being thus disposed, through the singular providence of God, and admirable purpose of His great wisdom, to draw the heathen to mingle with Christians, that they also might attain to the excellent knowledge of their God and Saviour; thus causing the remotest regions upon earth, through a miracle of grace, to gather together and become one people, in blood, kindred, and faith.

The Irish people are a mixture of Scythians, or Scots, Gauls and English, or Saxon, from whom their customs are derived. Some of these, which being kept up in Spenser’s time, he describes thus:—They lived most part of the year in boodies, while they fed their cattle

upon the mountain pasturage, still removing to fresh ground in the waste wild places—when that, they were upon, was left bare of grass. Thus lived the Scythians in herds, satisfying themselves as the Irish did, with the milk of their flocks for their own nutriment.* This custom in Ireland was the source of great evils. Those who lived only among their cattle continued in a state of barbarism; their boolies became the refuges of outlaws; stolen cattle were brought to them and concealed amid the wilds and recesses of high mountains, and the thief himself was harboured and sheltered.

The Scythian custom of wearing mantles and glibbes was productive of much evil; the raw, cold climate of Ireland rendered the mantle an indispensable appendage. It was the house, the bed, and the clothing of the poor; so far it was desirable: but it also served many bad purposes, which Spenser particularizes.

He says, the glibbes are as useful as a mantle in hiding the face, either by pulling it down over the eyes, a man's thievish visage can hardly be discovered; or by cutting it off entirely he is no longer like himself; the glibbe being a thick, curled bush of hair hanging over his forehead, and "monstrously disguising."

The Irish war-cry is Scythian, according to Diodorus Siculus. Herodotus states the manner of the Scythians and Parthians. At the first charge they came running, with a terrible yell, as if heaven and earth were moved. The Irish kernes do exactly the same, and call upon the name of their chieftains, or the badge of his

* *Olaus Magnus.* John Bohemus.

ancestors—such as that which belonged to O'Neil, *Laundarg-abo*, that is, the bloody-hand; and the motto of O'Brien, *Laun-laidir*, the strong-hand. After this example, the first English settlers took up the war-cry of *Crom-abo*, and *Butler-abo*. Herodotus says that the Scythians, in their battles, were accustomed to call upon the names of their generals, and sometimes on those of their dead kings.

Among the ancient Irish customs which may be traced to Scythian barbarism, is the *caoinan* or Irish-cry. Many voices join in deep wailing while the funeral procession moves slowly on over hill and dale, often to some distant burying-ground. The same custom was practised by the Jews, and they likewise hired women to make lamentation; “to increase the sadness of these gloomy solemnities, women, whose trade it was to weep and make lamentation over the dead, were paid to offer this strange kind of consolation to the relations or connexions of the departed.”*

In order that I might obtain the most accurate information on this practice, as it is observed at present by many of the native Irish, I visited a woman who is in the habit of attending funerals as a *caoinier*. The meaning of this word, she told me, is a rhyming woman. I found her very intelligent and communicative. She said she was always sent for as soon as the corpse was laid out. When she goes to the place she selects seven women whose voices are clear and loud, that they may all join in the *caoine*, with whom

* *Family of Bethany*, translated by Rev. W. Hare.

she practices beforehand. They all remain, for two days and nights, in the chamber of the dead: they call it waking the body. At intervals, four or five times in the night, they raise the caoine; between those intervals the people amuse themselves in singing foolish songs, telling stories, and in various other trifling sports. The wake is generally held in a large room, to admit of a great concourse: all who come are welcome. The larger the assembly, the more honourable it is considered for the dead. A long table is spread with oaten cakes, rolls of butter, a keg of whiskey, pipes and tobacco, &c. Rich and poor of all denominations are equally welcome to partake of the fare—to make any difference would be considered displeasing to God. The business of the rhymer is to repeat the virtues of the deceased, to enumerate his worldly advantages, and those of his kindred, living and dead; the names of the mourners he has left, and their irreparable loss. The rhyme begins, “Ullooloo, O why did you die? It was not for want of good living. You had plenty of potatoes and meal,” &c.

The criers chime in, with clapping of hands, in doleful cadence. Should the deceased have been a young girl, loved and admired, when committing the body to the ground, the rhyme goes—“O why did you die? Only that it would be to war against Christ, the whole country would join in our ullaloo. You may take up your swords and fight, you cannot bring her back; for He who suffered for her, has her, and who but He has any right to her? But, O why did you die? If gold could have kept you here, not a shovel-

ful of clay would ever lie over you. Who ever received charity from your full hand, and looked back for more? Did not they go on their way with a thankful heart? O then, why did you die?"

This is the identical English translation that our informant gave of her own Irish composition, which must, in the native language, have been much more eloquent and expressive. She related an instance of a farmer's wife who died in her confinement. Her husband had three small farms in different townlands. The names of these were mentioned by the rhymer, who said they were all waiting on her, yet she must die for an infant child, and be left with nothing but her shroud. In this account she seemed at a loss for words in English to express all she intended, and I found it difficult to comprehend her full meaning, even after many attempts to make it clear. She told me that when a rhyming-woman gives satisfaction, she is sent for from a distance of ten miles, by persons of whom she knows nothing; in which case she is taken aside by the nearest relative of the deceased, to be instructed in the subjects of her lamentation. She is desired 'neither to boast nor to brag,' but to bewail the loss to the parents, brothers, sisters, husband, children, &c. Sometimes the lamentation is so pathetic that the harrowed-up feelings of the survivors can bear no more, and the strain is silenced.

Three or four of the relatives, each carrying two bottles of whiskey, walk with the criers to afford them occasional refreshment. When the procession enters the burying-ground, the caoine ceases, while they walk

three times round it, all the while repeating the creed. During the interment, the caoine is resumed; and when the grave is closed, all the people kneel round it to offer up prayer for the departed soul.*

The manner in which this ceremony was performed in time past is well described in the following account of the Irish cry, in "The Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy," by Miss Beaufort:—

"The body of the deceased, dressed in grave-clothes and ornamented with flowers and odoriferous herbs, was usually placed on a table or elevated place. The relations and the *caoiniers*, *i.e.* the persons who sung the funeral songs and lamentations, ranged themselves in two divisions, one at the head, and the other at the feet of the corpse.

"The *bards* and *croteries*, *i. e.* those who composed the songs, and related the genealogy, &c., of the deceased, having before prepared the funeral caoinan, the chief bard of the *head chorus* began, by singing the first stanza in a *low doleful tone*, which was softly accompanied by the harp; at the conclusion the *last semi-chorus* began the lamentation, or *ullaloo*, from the final note of the preceding stanza, in which they were answered by the *head semi-chorus*, and then both united in one *general chorus*.

"The chorus of the first stanza being ended, the *chief bard* of the first semi-chorus sung the second stanza, the *strain* of which was taken from the con-

* This account was published some years ago in *The Protestant Rector, a Tale of Other Times in Ireland*; by the Author of *Three Years in Italy*.

cluding note of the preceding chorus; which being ended, the *head semi-chorus* began the *gol*, or *lamentations*, in which they were answered by that of the *foot*; and then, as before, both united in the general full chorus. And thus alternately were the *song* and *chorusses* performed during the night.

“The genealogy, rank, possessions, virtues, and vices, of the deceased were rehearsed; and a number of interrogatories were addressed to the *dead person*, as ‘Why did he die?’ If married, ‘Whether his wife was faithful to him: his sons dutiful, and good warriors?’ If a *matron*, ‘Whether her daughters were fair or chaste?’ If a *young man*, ‘Whether he had been crossed in love?’ or, ‘If the blue-eyed maids of Erin treated him with scorn,’ &c.

“Each versicle of the *caoinan* consists only of *four feet*, and each foot was commonly of two *syllables*; the first *three* required no correspondence, but the *fourth* was to correspond with the terminations of the other versicles.”*

This custom is now falling into disuse, the priests being opposed to it.

“In former times each great Milesian clan had its peculiar *caoinan*, or death-cry. General Vallancey thinks the custom may be traced to the remotest antiquity, and asserts that David’s lamentation for Jonathan, and the *conclamatis* over the Phœnician Dido, as

* Pagans and Infidels may be excused for intemperate lamentation over their dead, because they had no hope in death; but believers in the Lord Jesus Christ, are exhorted “not to sorrow as those who have no hope.”

described by Virgil, coincide with the *caoinan*. Dr. Campbell is also of opinion, that the word *ululate* or *hullaloo*, the choral burden of the *caoinan*, and the Greek word of the same import, have a strong affinity to each other."

Spenser observes,—the weapons they use in battle, are very Scythian, as well as their long broad shields of wicker-work; likewise, their going to battle uncased with armour, trusting to their thick glibbes, which they say will sometimes bear off a good stroke; then their march in clusters, without order or battle array: their clashing of swords together, their fierce running upon the enemy, and their manner of fighting altogether resembling that which we read of in histories of the Scythian customs.

Like the Scythians, they bind any solemn compact among themselves by blood, which they drink, with vows that they will spend their last blood in maintaining that quarrel in which they have engaged themselves. The common oath of the Scythians was by the sword and by the fire, accounting that they were two special divine powers, which would work vengeance on the perjurers. So do the Irish at this day when they go to battle: they say certain prayers or charms to their swords, making a cross therewith upon the earth; and by thrusting the points of their blades into the ground, they think they will have better success in fighting. They also commonly swear by their swords. Likewise at the kindling of fire and lighting of candles, they say certain prayers, and use superstitious rites which prove that they venerate the fire and the light, like the northern nations.

Their manner of marrying, dancing, singing, feasting, cursing, burying, bear the same resemblance. I shall not follow Spenser in enumerating them all; yet, as they show the state of barbarism in which the Irish were in his time, I shall add another striking instance of which he was an eye-witness.—“The Gauls used to drink their enemy’s blood, and paint themselves therewith. So also they write that the old Irish were wont; and so have I seen some of the Irish do, though not their enemy’s—but their friend’s blood. At the execution of a notable traitor, at Limerick, Morrogh O’Brien, I saw an old woman, which was his foster-mother, take up his head, whilst he was quartered, and sucked up all the blood that ran thereout, saying, that the earth was not worthy to drink it; and therewith also she bathed her face and breast, and tore her hair, crying out and shrieking most terribly.”

Spenser says, that the English, instead of trying to abolish such barbarous customs as the Irish derived from other nations, sunk into the same themselves—and even exceeded them:—“Some of them are now much more lawless and licentious than the very wild Irish.”

These were chiefly the English colonists inhabiting the west of Ireland. “The English Pale,” he says, “hath preserved itself, through nearness of the state, in tolerable civility; but the rest, which dwelt in Connaught and in Munster, which is the sweetest soil of Ireland, and some in Leinster and Munster, are so degenerated, that they have quite shaken off their English names, and put on Irish, that they might be

altogether Irish.” For instance, the Mac Mahons,* in the north, were anciently English, descended from the noble family of Fitz-Ursula; and the Mac Swynes, in Ulster, were of the family of De Vere, in England. Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, being proscribed and banished out of the realm, in Richard II.’s time, fled to Ireland, where English persecution followed him: and being afterwards executed in England, one of his kinsmen, still remaining in Ireland, from motives of revenge, disclaimed his name, his country, and his allegiance,—and conspiring with the Irish, rebelled against the government; since which time they have been accounted mere Irish. The names of other families are mentioned who followed their example, and by adopting the customs and language of the Irish, also by intermarriages, became truly naturalized, and very Irish.

1584. Sir John Perrot, being made lord-deputy, appointed governors in the several counties of Munster. Sir John Norris, the lord-president, received hostages from all suspected persons, in Kerry and Desmond, which maintained peace for some years in that quarter. The suppression of the rebellion in Munster, gave government an opportunity of making improvements, and restoring its prosperity. But some of the queen’s counsellors, jealous of her subjects in Ireland, openly declared their apprehensions, in the English parliament, that order and prosperity among the Irish would end in their giving themselves up to some foreign power. This vile policy was thoroughly reprobated, both by Sir

* This is disputed; some say, that the Mac Mahons and Mac Swynes were ancient Irish.

Henry Sidney and Sir John Perrot, whose appointment to the vicegerency was joyfully hailed by the inhabitants of Munster. His first act was to publish a general amnesty to all who would return to their allegiance.

In his tour through the provinces, the Irish chieftains of Ulster assembled to meet him, with vehement protestations of loyalty; and he gained such an ascendancy over them, that he prevailed on them to lay aside their national costume, when attending parliament in Dublin, and to put on that of the court. Turlogh Lynogh O'Neil, Earl of Tyrone, made one proviso, saying, with much simplicity, "Prithee, my lord, let my chaplain attend me in my Irish mantle, then shall your English rabble be diverted from looking at me, while they laugh at him."

Sir John Perrot divided the most uncivilised part of Ulster into seven new counties:—Armagh, Monaghan, Tyrone, Coleraine, Donegal, Fermanagh, and Cavan: for each of which he appointed sheriffs and other civil officers.

In 1585 he convened an Irish parliament, which assembled at Dublin, in April. Cavan was represented by two loyal Irishmen of the family of O'Reily. Sir Hugh Mac Gennis was member for the county of Down. Sir Turlogh O'Brien for Clare. Shane Mac Brien for Antrim: and two of the O'Ferghal family were members for Longford. These were all reformed Irishmen. And the Bishops of Clogher and Raphoe, who sat in this parliament, according to Ware, were appointed to their sees by Queen Elizabeth.

Some alarming appearances in Ulster, recalled the deputy to that province. A powerful chieftain, of the house of Tyrconnel, was preparing for an insurrection: hoping to quell it without any effusion of blood, Sir John Perrot devised a stratagem.

A Dublin merchant was directed to lade a vessel with Spanish wines, and to sail with them to the coast of Donegal, the country of the chieftain O'Donnel.

The vessel had a prosperous voyage to Lough Swilley, in Tyrconnel, and cast anchor opposite Dundonald Castle, near the church of Rathmullin. The wines were offered for sale, with many courteous invitations from the feigned Spanish merchant to the young men, who quickly assembled. The chieftain's son, Hugh Roe O'Donnel, a youth of great promise, with many others, accepted of the invitation, and sat down at an entertainment prepared for them. They freely partook of the wines, and were unconscious of the time, when the sails were spread, and the vessel, out at sea, was bearing them away, as prisoners, to the castle of Dublin, where O'Donnel, at the age of sixteen, was detained, until some time after Sir John Perrot was removed from the administration. By this measure, the submission of the old chieftain was secured: but when his son escaped from prison, he became a formidable and implacable enemy to the English, and a permanent evil was the result of this unwarrantable device.

It is to be lamented that such an act should have sullied the reputation of a man who was be-

loved and esteemed as a father and benefactor to the Irish.*

Turlogh O'Neil was little accounted of by his followers; they considered him too old to resist the ruling powers, and too complying to the English government.

When the sons of the late Shane O'Neil, wishing to obtain the chieftaincy, were collecting forces to accomplish their purpose in defiance of the law, the good old Turlogh was disobeyed and deserted.

On the return of Sir John Perrot to Ulster, he sum-

The following extract was taken from the MSS., Trinity College, Dublin, "Being a brief declaration to the queen, concerning the abuses of her government in Ireland, particularly under the administration of Sir William Fitz-Williams; written in 1594, by Captain Thomas Lee."

"When there hath been a stratagem used for the taking into your majesty's hands a young youth (the Earl of Tyrconnel), the heir of a great country, by whose taking his whole country would have been held in obedience, the practice whereof was most good and commendable; yet, after the obtaining of him, his manner of usage was most dishonourable and discommendable, and neither allowable before God nor man. My reasons are these,—he being young, and being taken by this stratagem, having never offended, was imprisoned with great severity, many irons laid upon him, as if he had been a notable traitor and malefactor, and kept still among those who were ever notorious traitors against your majesty; having no other council, or advice, or company but theirs, what good could come to this young man for his education among such, I humbly refer to your highness. The taking of him as aforesaid, was most commendable, and for the good of that country, so he had been brought up in this manner: presently to have been sent to your majesty to have been instructed in the fear of God, to have known his duty to your majesty, and to have been furnished with all necessary parts for a gentleman; and as your majesty should have found his disposition, so either to have detained him here or sent him home into his country, whose good example (by his virtuous training up), might have done God and your majesty much good service in those parts."—*Plowden. Appendix XII.*

moned the Irish chieftains to attend him at Dungannon. They obeyed with alacrity, and most of the disaffected among them delivered up the hostages which were required. The reason of this easy compliance was the news they had just heard of a victory gained over the Scots by the queen's troops, and the execution of the Scottish captain, Alexander, the son of the old chieftain, Sorleboy. The head of Alexander being fixed upon a pole, was exhibited before his bereaved father, who said exultingly, "My son hath many heads!"

Sir John Perrot, after having used his best endeavours to reconcile private dissensions, and establish tranquillity in Ulster, committed the government of the province to its old chieftain, Turlogh, in conjunction with Hugh, baron of Dungannon, and Sir Henry Bagnal, whose family had obtained an extensive settlement in that locality.

Sir John then turned his attention to a plan which he had in view, viz., the erection of a university in Dublin; for this purpose he wished to dissolve St. Patrick's Cathedral, and convert its revenues to the new foundation. Hence he brought upon himself the inveterate resentment of Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin, against whose interest this scheme strongly militated; and many envenomed tongues and pens were employed in misrepresentations which were too favourably received in England. They did not hesitate to call in fraud and forgery to aid them in their base designs. A letter, written in the name of Turlogh Lynogh, was detected in time to frustrate its evil purpose. The old chieftain dispatched an emissary to England to find out the letter,

and openly contradict the false information it gave of the proceedings of the lord-deputy in Ulster. Other forgeries of the same malicious tendency made a shameful impression upon the mind of the queen.*

Perrot entreated permission to justify his conduct in person, but his propositions met with no encouragement, and he remained conscientiously administering justice in Ireland.

Among the lords under whose guardianship he had left the province of Ulster, the baron of Dungannon was the most influential. He was the son of Matthew, the late baron of Dungannon, whose birth had been branded with ignominy by his brother Con. The present baron, Hugh, finding himself despised by his sept, because of this stigma, entered, while yet a youth, into the service of the English government, and by an English education, and polished society, acquired a refinement of manners, with an insinuating address, which he knew how to lay aside among his own people, to whom they would have been offensive, being so dissimilar to their blunt barbarism. But he assumed these blandishments when they were the means of obtaining the favour of those who were accustomed to civilization.

In the parliament convened by Sir John Perrot, Hugh O'Neil "petitioned, that by virtue of the royal grant to his grandfather, Earl Con, to his father and his heirs, he might be admitted to the place and title of the Earl of Tyrone, as also to the inheritance annexed

* Leland.

to the earldom." The former part of the petition was granted, the latter could not be, except by the queen herself, the inheritance being vested in the crown by the attainder of Shane O'Neil. However, by many specious promises that if the estate were restored, a large rent should be secured to the crown, Hugh O'Neil prevailed upon the deputy to send him to Elizabeth with letters of recommendation strongly worded.

All his powers of elocution were exerted in the queen's presence, together with much obsequiousness and flattery, which Elizabeth listened to with complaisance, and afterwards, when she questioned him on the state of Ireland, his answers were artfully guarded. He bewailed the want of civility and prejudices of his countrymen, who would not receive cultivation. He spoke of the necessity of strengthening their attachment to the English government; and recommended the suppression of the name of O'Neil, in order that English laws and manners might have more weight in Ulster. Elizabeth was so completely duped, that by letters-patent, under the great seal of England, she granted him the earldom, and the inheritance annexed, without any reservation of rent.* But she made some provisions respecting the bounds of his inheritance, and that which was to be allotted to the sons of John and Turlogh O'Neil. She signified her pleasure that the chieftaincy should be continued to the latter during his life-time, with a superiority over the subordinate lords, Mac Guire and O'Cahan. On his return Hugh O'Neil was

* Leland.

received in Ulster as a prime favourite of the queen, and the old chieftain, Turlogh, was easily persuaded to deliver up all authority to him.

Under pretence of aiding government in the suppression of disloyalty in the province, he represented the necessity of having six companies always at his command. This being granted, gave him an opportunity of training the whole country to arms, by changing those who had been disciplined for others yet untrained. At the same time he contrived a means of conveying a great quantity of lead to Dungannon, which he said was necessary to cover the battlements of his castle, but which he reserved for military purposes. By degrees he assumed a power over the neighbouring chieftains which caused great discontent among them.*

1585. Sir Richard Bingham, the President of Connaught, in his endeavours to establish English law, and confirm the queen's authority, stirred up a spirit of revolt. This was openly manifested by Thomas Roe de Burgo, who being summoned to the assizes at Mayo, refused to attend; whereupon the president issued orders for his arrest, with some others. They resisted the order, and, in the scuffle which ensued, De Burgo was killed,—two of his clan, being seized, were executed.

Bingham's arbitrary conduct kindled up the flame of rebellion. Other branches of the De Burgo family took up arms, and were joined by the powerful septs of the Joyes and Clan-Donnells.

Having drawn together a multitude of the lower

* Leland.

orders, they took possession of a castle in Lough Mask, where they fortified themselves. Bingham attempted an assault by water, but failed: several of his boats and men were lost. The garrison, not waiting for a second assault, fled to the woods, Bingham pursuing.

Richard de Burgo, repenting of his rashness, offered to submit, but the president relentlessly caused him to be executed. The lord-deputy, not approving of such harsh measures, ordered that hostages should be taken from all who sued for mercy.

Bingham repaired to Dublin in displeasure, and pleaded necessity in justification of his conduct, before the privy council. Fresh insurrections, during his absence, sufficiently proved that he was right.

While levies were being made all over Ireland, to carry on the war in the low country, the Clan-Gibbons, Clan-Donnells, and Joyes, with numerous others, refused to enlist in the queen's service, and clamorously demanded the restoration of their ancient custom in the popular election of De Burgo * (The Mac William), as the chief governor of the province. If this request were not complied with, they declared their intention to unite with Spain against the English. They would neither admit of a sheriff among them, nor would they attend the sessions. Rejecting every pacific proposal from government, they invited auxiliaries from the Hebridean Scots, to whom they promised large possessions. In the meantime they ravaged the country, plundering and burning villages, destroying forts, &c.

* Camden.

The deputy, now convinced that lenient measures were inefficient to allay this ferment, prevailed on Bingham to resume his charge. He was joined by the Earl of Clanricarde (who was himself a member of the De Burgh family), Lord Athenry, and other chieftains. The president sent the earl to his relations with proposals of peace, which being obstinately refused, the hostages were put to death, and the means of sustenance were taken from the insurgents by the seizure of their cattle, &c. We do not hear that any regular engagement took place: while they were hunted from one hiding-place to another, among rocks, woods, and mountains, until their vigour was spent, and their spirit was broken. Scarcely daring to creep from their lurking holes, they could no longer recognise each other, so sunken were their features from starvation. They were now ready to submit on any amicable terms, all except the sons of Edmund de Burgh, of Castle Barry, to whom belonged the title of The Mac William:—they would not yield until they saw their father taken and put to death: all his lands were confiscated.

Thus ended this imaginary distinction in Connaught, and the strife for ascendancy was at an end. Bingham gained a complete victory over the rebellious chieftains of the house of De Burgh, with their Scottish allies, by skirmishes, with little loss of life on his side, but great slaughter of the enemy.

The state of wretchedness to which they were reduced, is thus described by Spenser:—"It is not with Ireland as it is with other countries, where the wars flame most in summer, and the helmets glisten brightest in the

the fairest sunshine. But in Ireland, the winter yieldeth best services, for then the trees are bare and naked, which used both to clothe and house the kerne; the ground, which used to be his bedding, is cold and wet; the air is sharp and bitter-blowing upon his naked sides; the kine give no milk, which used to be his only food.

“This I saw sufficiently exemplified in these late wars in Munster: for, notwithstanding that the same was a most rich and plentiful country, full of corn and cattle, that one would have thought they should have been able to stand long,—yet, ere one year and a-half, they were brought to such wretchedness, as that any stony heart would have rued the same. Out of every corner of the woods and glens, they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legs could not carry them;—they looked and spake like spectres crying out of their graves;—they did eat the dead carrions, happy where they could find them—yea, and one another soon after; inso-much that they spared not to scrape the carcasses out of their graves. And if they found a plot of water-cresses, or shamrocks, there they flocked, as to a feast, for the time,—yet not able long to continue there withal, that, in a short space, there were none almost left; and a most populous and plentiful country, was suddenly left void of man and beast: yet, sure, in all that war, there perished not many by the sword, but by the extremity of famine, which they themselves had wrought.”

Spenser condemns the means used by Sir John Perrot, in debasing the English, and countenancing the Irish: he says his government was neither sound nor wholesome for that realm.

“It is dangerous,” he says, “to leave the sense of the law to the reason or will of the judges, who, being men, may be led away by their natural affections, or other causes. The laws ought to be like stone tables—plain, steadfast, and immoveable.

“There is a statute which makes coigne and livery treasonable. No man now may enter the house of another to demand lodging; neither can he force provisions from his tenantry, as he journies through the land: though still the accommodation of inns is wanting.”

1587. Sir John Perrot, heartily weary of his office, delivered up the sword to Sir William Fitz-William.

The lower orders had been particularly benefitted by him, and loudly expressed their regrets at seeing him depart; and old Turlogh, of Tyrone, followed him weeping to the water-side. Sir John Perrot told the queen that he could govern the Irish, but never could govern the English in Ireland. His own account of the native Irish is, they “love to be justly dealt withall by theyr governors, however they deal with one another, and will doe more at the command of theyr governors, whom they *repute* and *have found to be juste*, than by the strict execution of the lawes, and *constraynt of any force or power*.” Of the country he writes, it “had longe been infested with warres, bloodshed, sedition, and civill contention; soe that for the space of sixtie yeares or upwardes, seldom had there byn any continuance of concord and perfect peace thorow all the partes of that island, but that either thorow the corruption or ignorance of the governors, the contention of the lords and men of accompt, amongst themselves, or

the disobediance of the people and theyr principal leaders, agaynst the prince and magistrate, the sword was more in use amongst them than the lawes, and revenge was more practised than peace. The corruption of the governors, either by *covetousness* or *partialitie*, had divers times occasioned great tumultes and troubles in that land, but never more than in the former and last warres of Ireland, which did grow partely by the avarice, instigation, and procurement of some late governors, whose names shall be silenced."

Sir John Perrot's chronicler gives the following account of the estimation in which he was held :—

"The people did strive and covet as he went thorow the streets, if they could not take him by the hand, yea, to touch his garment, all praying for him, and for his long life. And when he asked them why they did soe, they answered that they had never enjoyed theyr owne with peace before his time, and did doubt they should never doe soe agayn when he was gone."

This they said at the time of his departure; for he ruled too judiciously and mercifully over this unhappy country, for the enemies of its peace and prosperity to suffer him to remain. His biographer remarks: "Such secret informations were still prosecuted agaynst him, that from thenceforward the lord-deputie found much opposition in all his actions of accompt; and the more quiet the countrie grew by his industrie and endeavors, the more incensements were wrought agaynst him; private grudge prevayling, where open hostilities could do hym noe harm."

Hume says, "The most unhappy expedient employed

in the government of Ireland, was that made use of in 1585, by Sir John Perrot, at that time lord-deputy. He put arms into the hands of the Irish inhabitants of Ulster, in order to enable them, without the assistance of government, to repress the incursions of the Scottish islanders, by which these parts were much infested. At the same time, the invitations of Philip, joined to their zeal for the Catholic religion, engaged many of the gentry to serve in the Low-country wars; and thus Ireland, being provided both with officers and soldiers, of discipline and arms, became formidable to the English, and was thenceforward able to maintain a more regular war against her ancient masters.”

1588. Sir John Norris, the President of Munster, received intelligence that two great Spanish vessels were wrecked upon the coast of Thomond; of the crews seven hundred were lost, and one hundred and fifty taken prisoners by the peasantry. Another ship, of nine hundred tons, was cast upon a different part of the same coast; four hundred and thirteen lives saved. These people formed for themselves an intrenchment. A ship was cast away at the isle of Clare; seventy lives lost. On the 17th, other vessels belonging to the armada were wrecked upon the coast of Connaught. Thus the Lord raised the winds and waves which scattered the *invincible* armada.*

The armada sailed on the 29th of May, and, on the following day, encountered a violent tempest, which dispersed the ships, and sunk some of the smaller

* Hume, Strype.

vessels. These delays gave the English more time for preparations to oppose the threatened invasion.

Rapin, in quoting "Strype's Appendix," says, that seventeen Spanish ships, and five thousand three hundred and ninety-four men were lost on the coast of Ireland in September, 1588.

This year an illegitimate son of Shane O'Neil, named Hugh ne Gavelocke (*i.e.* Hugh in the Fetters, for he had been long kept in fetters), discovered to a certainty, that Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, held secret intelligence with the King of Spain, and that he had conspired with him in planning the subversion of the religion, government, and Queen of England. Soon after Gavelocke had sent in this information, the Earl of Tyrone being apprized of it, formed a stratagem to take him by surprise and strangle him. The deed was done with difficulty, for no man was found willing to shed the blood of an O'Neil; and it was reported that the earl himself tightened the cord round the throat of his relative. Being charged in England, with this additional crime, he was cited to appear in person and answer for himself. In the queen's presence he made the most humble submission, imploring her pardon and clemency, which he fully obtained upon his solemn engagements that he would in future live at peace with his neighbours, without assuming the title of The O'Neil, or any authority over the other lords in Ulster; that he would exact no bonaght, nor put any man to death contrary to law; that he would offer no hindrance to the levying of supplies for the English garrisons in his quarters; and

would not harbour monks, friars, nuns, or rebels, in his territories, &c. &c.*

Upon returning to Ireland, O'Neil renewed his promises and vows of fealty before the lord-deputy and council, and for a time conducted himself in such a manner as to give hopes of his sincerity.

It was prophetically said of Hugh O'Neil, that he was born either for the great good or the great hurt of his country.* He had natural endowments which fitted him for great enterprises: his form athletic, his mind vigorous, his spirit daring; these qualifications rendered him capable of enduring labours, difficulties, and reverses with an unflinching hardiness. He had, besides, ingenuity to plan, and perseverance to carry him through, the weightiest matters. He was well versed in military tactics, and an adept in dissimulation.

1591. O'Neil found a coadjutor in a young man who, but for his unjust imprisonment, and harsh treatment, might have been a friend rather than an enemy to the English government. Towards the close of this year, Hugh Roe O'Donnel escaped in the night-time with some of his fellow prisoners from the castle of Dublin; they fled towards the mountains, and before the dawn of morning they had reached a wood which skirted Fasach-ruadh (*i.e.* the red mountain). Hugh Roe could proceed no further; his youthful activity was gone; disuse had cramped his limbs; his naked legs and feet were torn with the long brambles and rough stones which covered the trackless hills and dales which he

* Camden's *Hist. of Elizabeth*.

had crossed. His companions, all but one, deserted him; this faithful follower, in the hope of procuring him assistance, applied to Phelim O'Toole, whose residence was near, but instead of a friend, he encountered an enemy, by whom O'Donnel was again loaded with chains, and brought back to prison, where he passed another year. His second escape, though attended with many difficulties, was successful; and having arrived safely at Dungannon, the Earl of Tyrone received him with open arms,—but, for some days, entertained him secretly. From thence he proceeded to a fast friend and brother, Hugh Mac Guire, whose residence was on the borders of Lough Erne. In a short time a boat conveyed him to his father's castle, at Ballyshannon. O'Donnel, Prince of Tyrconnel, being an aged man, was glad to yield the chieftaincy to his son, and with the consent of the different chiefs of the septs, Hugh Roe, oge (*i. e.* junior), was solemnly inaugurated and proclaimed, *The O'Donel*.

His first military achievement was the defeat of Turlogh Lynogh O'Neil, whose town of Strabane he burned, though strongly garrisoned by English soldiers.

By means of the Earl of Tyrone, the form of a reconciliation took place at Dundalk, between Hugh Roe and the lord-deputy. It could be no more than a form with him who had become the implacable enemy of the English.

He employed the titular Bishop of Killala as an ambassador to Spain, to solicit aid against the enemy; he applied also to the Scotch for troops, in order to free his country from those whom he considered detested

monopolisers of liberty and property in Ireland. Some mercenary Scots came at his call, and he was joined by Mac Guire, chieftain of Fermanagh. The Earl of Tyrone,* not having yet thrown off the mask, joined his forces to the English army, and fought against his friends, who were defeated on this occasion. But soon afterwards he suddenly quitted the camp.

At this crisis,† the death of Turlogh O'Neil afforded him an opportunity of assuming the title of The O'Neil, which was of sufficient importance to command the obedient services of the whole district. He removed all obstacles, by the seizure of his rivals, the sons of the late Shane O'Neil.

1591. Brien O'Rourke, Lord of Breffney, took up arms against the Queen of England, but being defeated by Sir Richard Bingham, fled into Scotland. At the request of Elizabeth, the King of Scotland delivered him to her agents: he was conveyed to Westminster, and was arraigned on the following charges:—1. He had excited and encouraged Alexander Mac Conel to rebel. 2. He had treated the queen's picture most ignominiously, having found it painted on a table, he hung it to a horse's tail, and had it drawn through the public streets, in scorn and derision; he then cut it to pieces. 3. He had harboured and entertained the shipwrecked Spaniards, in defiance of the lord-deputy's proclamation. 4. By burning and conflagration, he had devastated several tenements belonging to her majesty's loyal subjects, and slain many. Lastly. He

* Camden.

† *Antiquarian Researches.*

had offered to put Ireland into the hands of the King of Scotland.

Not understanding the English language, when his interpreter repeated the accusations brought against him, he insolently answered, that he would not submit to a trial by twelve men; that he must have more time and advocates allowed; the accusations must be placed in his own hands, and the queen herself sit as judge upon the bench.

The lord chief justice then commissioned his Irish interpreter to explain to him, that if he positively refused to be tried by a jury of twelve men, they were nevertheless to give judgment according to the articles of the indictment. To this he briefly replied, "*If they think good, be it so.*" Sentence of death having been passed against him, he was executed as a traitor, at Tyburn, remaining hardened and impenitent to the last. He scoffed at the Archbishop of Cashel for offering him the consolations of religion in his own native tongue.*

This memorable year, 1591, Elizabeth founded the College of Dublin, to "The Holy and Undivided Trinity." The miserable state of the church, and total neglect of religion, had been described in a long letter, from Sir Henry Sidney to the queen, in 1576: at which time the sacrament of baptism was not used. Other ordinances also were neglected. Sir John Perrot had made an attempt to dissolve St. Patrick's Cathedral, in order to endow two colleges with its revenues, but he was opposed by Loftus, the archbishop. He now stood

* Camden's *Elizabeth*.

forward as a zealous promoter of the new seminary, whose professed object was the diffusion of religion, literature, and civilization. Through his exertions, the site of a monastery, near Dublin, was procured. It had been erected by Dermot Mac Murchard, King of Leinster, and when suppressed, in the reign of Henry VIII., was vested in the mayor and citizens of Dublin. It was called the Monastery of All Saints, and was now freely granted, with its precincts, for the desirable purpose for which it was appointed.

On the 9th of January, 1593, the first students were admitted into Trinity College. This was a quiet year in Ireland. The following year was not so: turbulent minds cannot endure peace, nor suffer the land to be at rest.

The northern chieftains were determined on rebellion, without openly manifesting its spirit. O'Neil strengthened his bond of alliance with Hugh O'Donnel, by giving him his daughter in marriage. He committed an unpardonable offence against Sir Henry Bagnal, by forcibly carrying off his sister; and by making her his wife, was guilty of bigamy, he being already a married man.

The last deputy, Sir William Fitz-William, took upon himself the viceroyalty of Ireland, as a remuneration from government for past services, and hence made use of every opportunity to increase his revenue. From the supposition that treasures must have been brought into the country when the Spanish ships were driven on the north-western coast, he confined Sir Owen Mac Toole and Sir John O'Dogherty, in the castle of Dublin,

under the suspicion of their having secreted this treasure. Without any investigation, or means of justifying themselves, he retained them in prison, until death had nearly released one,—and the other, after two years confinement, purchased his liberty, at an enormous price. Both these men were well-affected towards government, and had performed some essential services, on which account they were universally esteemed.

1594. Sir William Fitz-William was recalled, and Sir William Russell, the youngest son of Francis, Earl of Bedford, was made lord-deputy.

O'Donnel of Tyrconnel, laid siege to the castle of Enniskillen, which had been taken and garrisoned by the English. The siege had lasted several weeks, when the English advanced with a great force to the relief of the castle. O'Donnel had gone to Lough Foyle, to meet the Scotch auxiliaries, whom he had invited over. Maguire, with his own and Tyrconnel's forces, met their opponents, and a desperate battle ensued, in which the English were beaten, and Enniskillen was delivered up to the victors,* who, without mercy, butchered the garrison. They then carried their arms into Connaught, and committed many outrages,—and O'Donnel raised one of his associates, a degenerate De Burgo, to be chieftain of his district, by the title of The Mac William;—Bingham, Governor of Connaught, not having a military force to resist them.

Things began to wear a formidable appearance, and active measures were necessary to quell this increasing

* Leland.

insurrection. Sir William Russell asked for an experienced commander to assist him in carrying on the war,—and Sir John Norris received orders to embark for Ireland.

The rebel lords, in order to secure their lands from being forfeited, before they broke out, made a secret conveyance of all their lands, lordships, &c., to feoffees, during their lifetime, to revert back to their lawful heirs at their death. The Earl of Desmond had taken this precaution before he was declared a traitor, but it availed him nothing, as all his immense possessions were seized by the crown.

Coigne and livery * were still practised, in defiance of divers acts to prohibit them. The meaning of the word coigne is unknown, but the thing signified was “man’s meat.” Livery was horse-meat and stabling,—and is derived from the expression—deliver the nightly accommodation required by the traveller,—who had otherwise no means of procuring it. In great houses of entertainment, the expression was, “The livery is served up all night:” which signifies the continuation of the evening’s beverage, or rather the night’s carousal.

Spenser thus describes the degenerate state of the bards and poets. Such poets there were, he says, who laboured in their writings to improve the manners of men, and through the sweet bait of their numbers, contrived to steal into the young spirits a desire of honour and virtue. But the poets of these times, choose, for

* A servant’s livery is so called, from his being required to deliver it up, when dismissed from his master’s service.—*Spenser*.

the arguments of their poems, the acts of the licentious, the bold, daring, desperate and lawless; holding up such examples to young men, decked in the alluring garb of smooth-flowing rhyme, by which it is easy to deceive the young mind, and carry away the affections which have never been properly directed—for all are brought up idly, without awe of parents, without precepts of masters—without restraint. But the young mind cannot be inactive: if it be not well employed, it will be busy in a way which will busy others. Of such a man the following description is given. He was no milk-sop, daintily nurtured at a fire-side. His days were spent in arms and valiant enterprises. He never eat his meat, until he had won it with his sword. He did not sluggishly waste his nights under his mantle in a cabin, but kept others awake to defend their lives; and the flames of their houses was his light to lead him in the darkness—for the night was his day, and the day his night. His music was not the harp, nor the soft lays of love, it was the cries of the distressed and the clash of arms. Finally, he died, not bewailed of many, but caused many to wail, who at great cost had procured his death. These strains were composed to celebrate the memory of a notorious traitor, and so highly estimated by the Irish, that when first sung to a person of high degree, the poet received forty crowns for his song. These Irish bards are frequently rewarded for their panegyrical effusions with a piece of a stolen cow.

Spenser describes three idle and depraved classes of persons, which he designates, “Horse-boys, Carrows,

and Jesters. The first were solely employed in the care of the horses; they were the hostlers of those times, before the name was given, or inns were opened. The second, called carrows, were gamblers, 'a kind of people who wander up and down to gentlemen's houses, living upon cards and dice, the which, though they have little or nothing of their own, yet will they play for much money, which, if they win, they waste most lightly, and if they lose, they pay as slenderly, but make recompense with one stealth or another.' " The jesters, Spenser calls "notable rogues, not only partakers of many stealths, but privy to many traitorous practices, and common news-carriers; with desire whereof you would wonder how much the Irish are fed, for they use commonly to send up and down for news, and if any meet with another, his second word is,—what news?"

Our author thus accounts for the frequent rebellions in Ireland :—All the lower orders are brought into subjection to their lords, and compelled to adhere to them in all their quarrels. It is not the common people themselves who stir up rebellion, but those who rule over them, from pride and opposition to the government. These are they to whom the evil ought to be attributed, and who draw their followers into it; their names being registered in a book, they think they have undertaken their lord's cause and are bound to obey.

Spenser says, that the Irish foot soldiers were called gallowglasses,* from an old English word Gall-ola, a

* Gallowglass is also said to have been derived from two Irish words Gal-glac, that is, the courage-band.

servitor, or yeoman. He wore his long shirt of mail down to the calf of the leg, over his quilted leather jacket, which was gilt and embroidered. This jacket, first brought into Ireland by the English, Chaucer speaks of, as the dress of the horseman, in his description of Sir Thopas, a knight, in armour. In all which description, Spenser says, "You may see the very fashion and manner of the Irish horseman most truly set forth in his long hose, his riding shoes of costly cordwaine, his hacqueton,* and his haberion,† with all the rest thereunto belonging; as also the furniture of his horse, his strong brass bit, his sliding reins, his shank-pillion‡ without stirrups, his manner of mounting, his fashion of riding, his charging of his spear aloft above his head, and the form of his spear." All very different from that which was then in use in England, but not accounted an "unseemly manner of riding; for I have heard some great warriors say, that in all the services which they had seen abroad in foreign countries, they never saw a more comely man than the Irishman, nor that cometh on more bravely in his charge; neither is his manner of mounting unseemly, though he lack stirrups, but more ready than with stirrups, for in his getting up his horse is still going, whereby he gaineth way. And therefore the stir-up was called so in scorn, as it were a stay to get up, being derived from the old English word *sty*, which signifies to mount." "Yet sure they are very valiant and hardy, for the most part great endurers of

* Haqueton, a doublet stuffed with wool.

† Habergeon, a short coat of mail.

‡ The pad of the saddle.

cold, labour, hunger, and all hardness; very active and strong of hand; very swift of foot; very vigilant and circumspect in their enterprises; very present in perils; very great scorers of death. He beareth himself very courageously in that rude kind of service; and when he cometh to experience of service abroad, or is put to a piece or a pike, he maketh as worthy a soldier as any nation he meeteth with."

Spenser gives the following account of meetings held by the disaffected upon a rath, or hill, where they recapitulated their grievances, public and private, with murmurings and consultations; on which occasions many murders were committed. "For," he says, "the Irish never come to these meetings without being armed, whether on horse or on foot, which the English nothing suspecting, are then commonly at advantage, like sheep in a penfold."

"Any man disposed to mischief, or villany, may, under his mantle, which is close-hooded over his head, go privily armed, without suspicion of any cover (his head concealed he is unknown), neither is his pistol, or skein,* seen, which he holds always in readiness."

Spenser conjectures, that the round hills and square bawns which are to be seen strongly entrenched and thrown up, were originally intended for such meetings, and therefore anciently called Talk-motes, which is a Saxon word, and signifies a meeting of people. The places called Bawns were built by the Saxons, and are generally of a square form, well entrenched. The

* Skein, Irish knife.

round hills were very different from these, and much more ancient: their origin unknown. They were strongly fenced. When there was any cry of trouble, or uproar, each party repaired with all speed to their own fort, and there remained in safety until they could assemble themselves in great strength.

The forts were strong, and so contrived, with one very small entrance, that few in number could defend themselves against a multitude, and remain safely until succour arrived. When they had numbers sufficient to make resistance, they sallied forth and marched forward to the next fort, and so on, until they encountered the threatened peril, or could ascertain the cause thereof.

Spenser continues his remarks on the different description of mounts, heaps, and circles of stones, which are found in different parts of Ireland, and which are in substance the same as has been already given.* There are many surmises, he says, in regard to them:—"Some call them *Giant's Trevetts*, concluding that by gigantic strength alone they could have been reared. They believed that the power of mortal man never collected them, and that they must have been thus arranged at the foundation of the world, or that the flowing of the great waters of the deluge, rolled, and deposited them in the order in which they now stand." Spenser adds, "Let them dream their own imaginings. I have read in many histories and chronicles, the like mounts and stones oftentimes mentioned."

* Vide *Sketches of Irish History*. By the Author.

CHAPTER XI.

Sir John Norris, Commander-in-Chief—O'Neil's Submission—Renewal of his Hostilities—Commissioners sent by Elizabeth to treat with the Rebels—O'Neil proclaimed a Traitor. Lord Burgh appointed Deputy—Death of Sir John Norris—War continued—Death of Lord Burgh—Siege of the Fort at Blackwater—The Earl of Ormond Lieutenant-General of the Army—The English defeated by O'Neil—Universal Rebellion—The Sungan Earl—Reception of the young Earl of Desmond at Kilmallock—O'Neil triumphant—Sir George Carew President of Munster—The Earl of Essex Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland—Florence Mac Carthy—Sir John Harrington's Letters—The Pope's present to O'Neil, and his Letter.

1594. SIR JOHN NORRIS, now Commander-in-Chief, had already performed military services in Ireland, under Walter, Earl of Essex. On the present occasion, he conducted the same forces that had fought under him in Brittany. O'Neil, on learning that he was to be opposed by this experienced general with his veteran army, resolved on the expediency of again feigning submission, in order to gain time for the arrival of succour from Spain.

Presenting himself before the viceroy, he fell upon

his knees and made an oration in his usual style of hypocritical cant, professing his allegiance and gratitude to his gracious queen, to whom he confessed himself indebted for his high titles and noble revenues. If he were devoid of gratitude, he said, he was not so devoid of common sense as to bring about his own ruin by taking up arms against his sovereign lady, who could more effectually debase, than she had ever exalted him; and deprive him at once of that which she had so liberally given. He acknowledged his fault in absenting himself from public affairs at stated times, when his attendance was required, and gave as a reason the presence of his two inveterate enemies, the late deputy and Sir Henry Bagnal. He concluded with many fair promises, that no cause of complaint should be found in his future conduct.*

O'Neil had been the chief, though concealed mover of the plots and combinations of the conspirators. He had seduced some of the queen's officers: Monaghan would not have been laid waste, nor Enniskillen besieged, but for him. These excesses were all known to the council, and the expediency of detaining him was debated, but the question being put to the vote, the majority were against this measure, and the earl was still left at liberty to carry on his seditious practices, subversive of all order and good government. When he found out that there was a reinforcement coming from England, in addition to the army which had served under Sir John Norris, in the Low-countries,

* Camden.

he made a sudden assault upon the fort at Blackwater, which was surrendered to him. The possession of this fortress was important from its being an inlet to his own territory. His next precaution was to despatch letters to the Earls of Kildare and of Ormond, and to the lord-treasurer, Sir Henry Wallop, professing his firm allegiance; at the same time praying that Sir John Norris might deal gently with him, and not drive him, contrary to his will, upon the dangerous shoals of disloyalty.

These letters, as it appears, were intercepted by Sir Henry Bagnal.

O'Neil's troops in Ulster were upwards of seven thousand horse and foot, with an additional force of two thousand three hundred in Connaught,* most of these troops were well-trained soldiers, regularly armed and exercised, since the time that Sir John Perrot had appointed that every lord and chieftain of Ulster should be provided with an armed force to keep off the island Scots.

He had, moreover, with improvident policy, partly formed this force, by sending thither soldiers well disciplined in the wars of the Low-countries.

Whilst the disaffected were employed in making preparations for rebellion, the deputy, and commander-in-chief, spent their time in fruitless misconceptions of each other. The queen, being impatient on account of this procrastination and unnecessary expenditure, appointed two commissioners, Sir Henry Wallop, and Sir

* Camden.

Henry Gardener, to treat with the earl and his confederates.*

They had already been proclaimed traitors, both in the English and Irish languages, with an offer of pardon to any among them, who had been seduced from their allegiance and were willing to return.

The chieftains being summoned to a meeting in Dundalk, declared their willingness to attend, provided that it were held in an open field; but they refused to assemble in any house. In compliance with their wishes, the conference took place in a field.

O'Neil, the chief rebel, and most fluent speaker, poured forth a tiresome tirade of complaints, aggressions, and grievances. Declaring himself innocent of the crimes laid to his charge: he petitioned for a redress of the wrongs he had set forth.

The chieftains followed the example of O'Neil, each, in turn, narrating his numerous injuries and undeserved oppressions. Those of Hugh Roe O'Donnel were the loudest and longest. They all joined in vehement and peremptory demands for that which they claimed as their own by right, without offering to make any concessions whatever.

The commissioners would gladly have complied with any reasonable requisitions, and offered conciliatory terms, which being insolently refused, the meeting broke up without effecting more than a temporary cessation of hostilities.

* O'Neil's insurrection was general, not universal. The Kavenahs, O'Moores, O'Tooles, O'Dempsies, O'Connors, could never be prevailed on to join in it, though they were all Roman Catholics.—*Plowden.*

The total failure of every effort to pacify these rebellious spirits, called forth a repetition of the proclamation, which not only denounced the earl as a traitor, but deprived him of every title, save that infamous brand, in their own language, which proclaimed his spurious origin:—"Hugh O'Neil, son of Matthew Fadereugh (*i. e.* the blacksmith)." Numerous charges were brought against him—ingratitude to his queen,—unjust and cruel conduct towards his neighbours and nearest relatives. He had strangled one of the sons of Shane O'Neil, and retained two others in miserable durance, bound in chains of iron. He had seduced the lords to take part in his rebellion, &c. The proclamation closed with an offer of pardon to every rebel who would desert the traitor and return to his allegiance: while all those who refused this offer, were also denounced as traitors to their queen and country.

The arrival of forces from Spain being daily expected by the rebel army, Sir John Norris received directions to make such a disposition of his troops as to prevent their landing. Having joined his forces to those of the deputy, they marched towards Armagh, without any opposition from O'Neil, who abandoned his fort at Blackwater and set fire to the adjoining villages, not sparing Dungannon, nor his own dwelling-house, which was partly consumed, while he fled to the woods.

Sir John Norris placed a garrison at Armagh and another at Monaghan; but a failure in their supply of provisions was a serious hindrance to any effective exertions.

O'Neil, not venturing to encounter the English army,

made use of various subterfuges and stratagems, to gain time: it would be tedious and uninteresting to follow him in the detail given in Camden's "History of Elizabeth." At last he earnestly solicited a conference, to which Sir John Norris consented, hoping that it would lead to an amicable agreement; but although that was far from the intentions of O'Neil, he craftily encouraged the persuasion, and drew up the form of a submission, subscribed by his own hand, which he declared was presented "upon the knees of his heart." He averred that this was his first treasonable act, which, if he could, he would willingly cancel with his blood; and that if a full pardon were granted, his future loyal services should make ample restitution. He said he never would have assumed the distinction of The O'Neil, if he had not been assured that another would have usurped it. He now disowned it, and renounced all future alliance or correspondence with the Spaniard, provided the queen's clemency were extended to his friends as well as to himself.

O'Donnel and Pheagh Mac Hugh, having made similar submissions and protestations, also received the queen's pardon.

1596. Before the expiration of a month after it was issued, O'Neil's duplicity was again detected. Letters from Philip to the Irish chieftains, exhorting them to hold on in their noble struggle for religion and liberty, with some supplies of ammunition and promises of more efficient aid, encouraged O'Neil to resume his underhand cabals and contrivances. Pheagh Mac Hugh, who had returned, peaceably disposed, to Leinster, was

again roused to action by this disturber of all peace. He likewise stirred up the chief men of Munster.

Hugh Roe O'Donnel having caused great commotion in Connaught, Sir John Norris led on his forces to that quarter. O'Neil, taking advantage of his absence, made an attack upon the garrison at Armagh, and killed thirty of the men. Having encountered some soldiers in a wood, laden with provisions and fuel, he butchered them in cold blood.

Sir Richard Bingham was defeated by the rebel army, in attempting to recover some English forts which they had taken. In another engagement the deputy was successful; he routed the forces of Pheagh Mac Hugh, who was slain, with several of his men, in the pursuit.

O'Neil's army daily increased by numbers, from all parts of the kingdom, flocking to his territory.

When Norris marched to the relief of Armagh, he found it abandoned by the garrison, which had been forced to capitulate. The spirit of revolt had spread over all the kingdom, when Russell was recalled, and Thomas, Lord Burgh, was sent to supply his place.

Sir John Norris, who deserved and expected this appointment, was ordered to Munster. This slight, and the desertion of friends, preying upon his spirits, affected his health, and brought him to the grave.

On the arrival of Lord Burgh, O'Neil had recourse to his old practices of dissimulation; acting over again his feigned submission, he asked for a truce, which was granted for one month.

The new deputy came empowered, and fully determined, to give the rebels no quarter; but a month's

cessation was as necessary for him as for O'Neil, to prepare for battle.

A tedious conflict took place at Blackwater, which ended in the recapture of the rebel's fort. Lord Burgh had hardly given thanks for his victory, when he discovered that O'Neil had formed a strong entrenchment,* on an adjoining hill, and had dispatched a detachment of five hundred men, under the command of an able officer, named Tirrel, to oppose the President of Munster, Sir Conyers Clifford, who had received orders to join the lord-deputy, with seventeen hundred of his men. The president had proceeded to Westmeath, when he received information of Tirrel's intentions: hoping to frustrate them, he sent a detachment of one thousand men, led on by a young officer, the son of Lord Trimbleston.

The wily leader of the rebel band, ever on the watch for the movements of the English army, prepared an ambuscade to entrap the detachment. At its approach Tirrel feigned a retreat, to draw the English soldiers close to a defile, which was concealed by trees, and in which lay the half of his forces. The other half were disposed of in such a manner, that a simultaneous rush

* In Sir Charles Coote's statistical survey of the county of Armagh, drawn up in the years 1802-3, in describing Drumbanagher, says, This part of the country is extremely well fortified by nature; it lies high, commands a great extent, and is celebrated as having been the principal stronghold of the Earl of Tyrone, during his long-contested wars with the English government. He chose this position as being most central between Lough Neagh and the sea; his troops covered the entire line. The vestiges of his entrenchments, where he was encamped, are yet seen, and hence called Tyrone's ditches.

hemmed them in, and precluded all possibility of escape. The moment the signal agreed on was given, this took place, with tremendous shouting (the Irish war-cry), accompanied with beating of drums, and playing of bagpipes. An immediate slaughter of the English soldiers ensued:—there was no fighting,—but two men effected an escape:—an officer and one private soldier. From this fatal rencounter this place was called Tirrel's Pass.

Clifford was marching, with seven hundred men, through Connaught, on his way to the fort of Blackwater, when his progress was suddenly arrested by an army of two thousand rebels: retreat was his only alternative, and this he effected without much loss, in a harassing march of thirty miles, back to his quarters.

Henry, Earl of Kildare, and other lords of the Pale, had joined their forces to those of the deputy. The Earl of Tyrone's troops, which had lain concealed among the woods, were, at length, seen pouring down a neighbouring hill, in considerable numbers. The Earl of Kildare, with a division of the royal army, encountered them with great bravery and success; but two of his foster-brothers having been slain in fighting for him, the grief which struck at his heart, brought him to an early grave. Another severe loss was sustained at the same time:—the deputy was seized with a sudden illness, and died on his way to Dublin.

He had repaired and strengthened the fort with new works: his death gave animation to the insurgents, in carrying on the siege. They made several assaults; but each time were repulsed with slaughter. As often as

they scaled the walls, they were thrown back; and finding that by force they could not prevail, they determined on reducing the garrison by famine. This they also found impracticable, through the singular valour and constancy of Captain Williams and his men: they would not yield, although reduced to the extremity of slaying and feeding on their horses, and also on the wild weeds which grew among the loose stones round the fortress.*

By the queen's authority, the civil government of Ireland was committed to Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin, and to Sir Robert Gardener, the chancellor. The Earl of Ormond was constituted lieutenant-general of the army. Immediately on his appointment, O'Neil sent him a long complimentary letter, testifying his entire satisfaction that his countryman was to fill this important post; he regarded it as a happy omen for Ireland as well as for himself: then followed his usual list of grievances, with the addition of others recently sustained, and those which he plainly foresaw were impending, namely, that the lands of the Irish lords would be distributed among English counsellors, lawyers, and soldiers. He earnestly petitioned the general to deal gently with him. "After having himself dictated the conditions on which he would accept of a pardon," he obtained it, under the great seal of Ireland. But all the while he was secretly conferring with the sons of Pheagh Mac Hugh, whom he instigated to renew their hostilities in Leinster.

* Leland; Camden.

The Earl of Ormond soon found how little account O'Neil made of conditions and promises. Whilst the general was detained in Leinster, he sent a detachment, under the command of Sir Henry Bagnal, to support the garrisons of Armagh and Blackwater. They were on their march, in three divisions, when O'Neil made a sudden and furious attack upon the first division, which he discomfited; and he exercised his vengeance on Bagnal, whom he slew: few, if any, of his men escaped. The other two divisions were equally unsuccessful:—thirteen of the English officers were killed, and fifteen hundred private soldiers. The fort, at Blackwater, was abandoned; thirty-four standards, and all the arms, ammunition, artillery, and provisions, were taken. This was the greatest victory ever obtained by the Irish over the English, and that with comparatively little loss to themselves. Their forces were nearly equal:—from four to five thousand in each army. The fame of it spread, to the great joy and encouragement of the rebels.

O'Neil was hailed as the deliverer of his country. He was styled, The Prince. Crowds collected round his standard, English as well as Irish, “in maintenance of liberty and Romanism.” The Knight of Glyn, or the valley, and the White Knight declared for him. In the assumption of sovereign power, he created James Fitz-Thomas, Earl of Desmond, with a promise to confer upon him all the possessions of his predecessors, on condition of his faithful services. The Irish, not approving of this election, in derision, styled Fitz-Thomas, the Sugan Earl, which signifies, the Earl of Straw. When Queen Elizabeth heard of it, she sent

over the Earl of Desmond's son, James, whom his mother had given up to the English: and who, by order of the queen, had been educated in England, in a manner suitable to his birth. By a new patent, he was created Earl of Desmond.*

The account of his reception is thus given by Leland, from Sir George Carew, in his "*Pacata Hibernia*:"—"The earl came to Kilmallock, of a Saturday, in the evening; and by the way, and at the entrance into the town, there was a mighty concourse of people, insomuch that all the streets, doors, and windows, yea, the very gutters, and tops of the houses, were filled with them; and they welcomed him with all expressions and signs of joy, every one throwing upon him wheat and salt, according to the ancient ceremony used in that province. That night the earl was to sup with Sir George Thornton,—and although he had a guard of soldiers, who made a line from his lodging to Sir George's house, yet the confluence of the people was so great, that he could not, in half-an-hour, make his passage through the crowd. After supper, he had the same encounters in his return to his lodgings. The next day, being Sunday, the earl went to church to hear divine service; and all the way, his countrymen used loud and rude detortations, to keep him from church, unto which he lent a deaf ear:—but after service and sermon were ended, the earl, coming forth of the church, was railed at, and spit upon, by those, that before his going to church, were so desirous to see and salute him: insomuch, that after

* Camden; Smith's *Kerry*.

that public profession of his religion, the town was cleared of the multitude of strangers. This young earl, seeing how much he was deceived in his hopes, embarked for England, and so to court."

O'Neil, in all the exultation of a conqueror, wrote to the King of Spain to tell him of the signal victory he had achieved, and to beseech him, if haply he should hear that he wished to make peace with the English, in no wise to believe it, for he had closed his ears against all such conditions, be they ever so favourable; he further assured him of his fidelity to him as an ally.*

How sincere he was in these professions, other letters, written at the same time, could testify. He not only wrote, but sent messengers to the Earl of Ormond, proposing terms, and offering to submit, but they were not accepted.

Sir Richard Bingham, who had been so successful against the rebels in Munster, was now chosen, as the most able man, to repress the insolence of O'Neil. So many complaints of his rigorous measures had been transmitted to the queen, that by her order he had been sent to prison; yet when permitted to come to an explanation, he so fully justified himself, that he was honourably acquitted, and sent back to Ireland with the authority of Marshal of Ireland and General of Leinster; but he did not live to realize the hopes which were entertained of his good service. He died at Dublin, 1598.

The state of Ireland was now nearly hopeless: the whole nation was in open rebellion, the English settlers

* Camden's *Elizabeth*.

driven from their dwellings, and frequently murdered in attempting to escape from them. Some had taken refuge in the towns, while the country lay open to lawless rioters.

1599. Sir George Carew being appointed President of Munster, found that province in great disorder. Florence Mac Carthy, who styled himself Mac Carthy-Moore, was brought into submission by the president, and separated from the Sungan Earl of Desmond, who had mustered five hundred men in the county of Kerry.

The queen now knew that by temporizing she could not subdue the rebellious chieftains in Ireland, and that if some decided measures were not adopted, the country must be given up. At her own desire she was present at a deliberation in council. The Earl of Essex discussed the subject at some length, and condemned the governors of Ireland who had granted so many truces to O'Neil, thus affording him opportunities of adding to, and strengthening his resources, while those of the queen were lessened by unnecessary expenditure. When the appointment of a new lord-lieutenant was debated, the majority were in favour of Lord Mountjoy; but Essex made two objections: he had never signalized himself by military achievements, neither had he acted as commander-in-chief. Essex then described himself so accurately as the person best fitted for this important post, that every one perceived his aim, and he met with no opposition from friends or enemies—the former wishing to gratify him, the latter to ruin him. He was constituted Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland with a power more

ample than had ever been granted to any of his predecessors.

Pursuant to his advice, and in the hope of putting an end to the rebellion at once, the queen made a great effort in allowing him an army of twenty thousand foot, and one thousand three hundred horse; the most formidable that the English had ever before sent to Ireland.

1598. The new lord-lieutenant made his entrance into Dublin, in the month of March, with the pomp of a conqueror; but at the outset he acted contrary to his declared intention, which was to lead out his army at once to Ulster, against O'Neil; instead of this, he followed bad advice, and conducted them to Munster. On his march through Leinster, he encountered Rory O'Moore, whose attack was so successful that several of the English officers and men were slain. The place, where this battle was fought, was called the Pass of the Plumes, from the quantity of plumes which fell from the heads of the English soldiers.

At length having reached Munster, Essex laid siege to a castle, belonging to James Butler, Baron of Cahir, which was defended by the Sungan earl, and ten days were wasted in the reduction of an unimportant place. Without any decided engagement, the earl harassed and wearied his forces, in a fruitless pursuit of rebels who were dispersed among woods and inaccessible fastnesses.*

A detachment of six hundred men, under the com-

* Hume. Camden. Leland.

mand of Henry Harrington, suffered a disgraceful defeat from inferior numbers, led on by the O'Byrnes. The penalty inflicted by the lord-lieutenant for their cowardly conduct, was of the severest nature. The captain was executed, the officers cashiered, and the men decimated.*

In the middle of July, Essex found a lamentable diminution of numbers. His letters to the queen were unsatisfactory, and his demands for more troops vexatious. She sent them, however, with a peremptory order, that an attack should be made upon O'Neil in his own quarters.

Another detachment of English, sent by Essex, consisting of one thousand five hundred men, under Sir Conyers Clifford, suffered a defeat; they encountered a party of rebels, after a toilsome march over the Curlew hills, and not being sufficiently provided with powder, they were routed, and their brave captain slain;—one hundred and twenty of the men were made prisoners.

The English soldiers, unacquainted with the country, and fearful of sudden attacks, deserted in great numbers; the Irish loyalists did the same from the contempt they felt for Essex, because of his unsuccessful efforts. He wrote again to England, to say, that he could only march to the confines of Ulster with thirteen hundred foot, and three hundred horse.† His whole forces were reduced to four thousand effective men.‡

At length he marched towards Ulster, with three

* Cox. Camden. Leland.

† Camden.

‡ Leland.

thousand five hundred foot, and three hundred horse. Tyrone showed himself, with his men, upon the distant hills, for one or two days, and then sent his messenger, Hagan, to desire a parley. Essex answered that he would have no parley but at the head of his army. On the following day, a horseman in Tyrone's army, proclaimed, with a loud voice, that The O'Neil would neither fight nor parley between the two armies. He desired a private conference with the lord-lieutenant, to whom Hagan was again dispatched, with entreaties to be heard, and with assurances that all he wished for was, to obtain mercy and peace from the queen.* He appointed the place of meeting at a ford, near the chief town in the county of Louth. Essex took the precaution of sending some of his men to reconnoitre the place previously, and of planting a troop of horse upon the adjacent hill, when he went, alone, to confer with O'Neil, who stood on the opposite bank of the river. While the lord-lieutenant waited, in proud superiority, to receive the overtures of the rebel chieftain, O'Neil plunged up to his saddle in the river, to testify his eagerness to pay respect to so great a man. What passed between them can only be conjectured, there being no witnesses. Their parley lasted nearly an hour. A second parley was agreed on, and took place in the presence of twelve of their principal officers: on either side six.†

* Camden's *Elizabeth*.

† The names of the officers who were on the side of Essex, were the Earl of Southampton, Sir George Bouchier, Sir Warham St. Leger, Sir Henry Danvers, Sir Edward Wingfield, and Sir William Constable. O'Neil was attended by his brother Cormac, and five more of his clan or party.—*Camden. Leland.*

O'Neil, as usual, prefaced his discourse with dissimulation and servile flattery, then launched out into a detail of grievances, and closed with the proposal of conditions, namely: a free exercise of religion; the restoration of their lands; and exemption from English government; on these terms, he said, the Irish chieftains would lay down their arms, and resume their allegiance to the Queen of England. Without objecting, so far as we can learn, to these conditions, Essex undertook to transmit them to the queen—it was said by his accusers that he had promised to exert his influence to persuade her majesty to accept of them as just and reasonable. The only thing agreed upon by both parties, was a truce from six weeks to six weeks, to be continued until the first day of May following; stipulating, that if any cause should arise for the renewal of hostilities, fourteen days' notice would be sufficient. In case of an infringement of this contract by any of O'Neil's confederates, the individual was to be delivered up to Essex.

The queen, on being informed of these particulars by a letter from the lord-lieutenant, was heard to say, that he neither studied her interest, nor the welfare of his country; that other things occupied his thoughts in Ireland, and therefore she would not rashly provoke, nor recall him while the sword was in his hand.

Elizabeth communicated her sentiments by letters to the lord-lieutenant and council in Ireland, saying, that she was much surprised at the delays and excuses which had been made, so contrary to the opinion and intentions of the Earl of Essex before he left England.

If his army be now enfeebled and wasted, why, she asked, did he not lead it against the enemy when it was unbroken and vigorous? Why was the spring of the year deemed unseasonable for carrying on a war in Ulster? Why had the summer and autumn passed away without attempting any enterprise in that province? Was there no season in the year fit for it? Must England be drained and ignominiously branded among the nations, because of this miscarriage; and the history of these times record the disgraceful negligence which had suffered the kingdom of Ireland to be taken out of the hands of its conquerors? Must this infamous blot stain the character of him whom she trusted and sent forth with unlimited power?

The queen, in conclusion, expressly commanded Essex to prosecute the war in Ireland, without further delay. Instead of this, listening only to the dictates of his passions and self-will, he hastened to England. Overheated, and splashed with mud, he rushed into her majesty's presence before she had left her bed-chamber, in the morning, and threw himself on his knees before her. A sudden surprise of gladness seemed at first to obliterate from her memory the misconduct of her former favourite, so graciously did she receive him; but, soon recollecting herself, she dismissed him.

On leaving her, he expressed his thankfulness that, although he had been buffeted with storms abroad, he had found sweet calm at home. But this calm was of short duration: a little reflection brought this last transaction before the queen, in its true colours, as an additional breach of duty and obedience. Hence an order

was issued, that the Earl of Essex should confine himself to his chamber until he was examined in council.

The following delinquencies were laid to his charge: —“That he had neglected his instructions by delaying his expedition to Ulster: had thereby lost favourable opportunities; had wasted the queen’s forces and finances; had made a truce advantageous to rebels: and finally, contrary to, and in contempt of her majesty’s command, had left Ireland wholly unsettled, and returned to England.”*

All that he could urge in his own defence was of no avail, and he was ordered into close custody, debarred even from the society of his countess. Here we must leave him, while we return to Ireland’s restless history,—never quiet by reason of those who were lovers of strife.

Florence Mac Carthy Moore was, among these agitators, one of the most virulent:—yet disguised, like O’Neil, under a mask of hypocrisy.

In May, 1599, this man went to England, and obtained the queen’s authority for a grant, by letters patent, of the whole county of Desmond, besides other lands which he claimed in right of his wife, the only daughter of Mac Carthy Moore, who had resigned his possessions to Queen Elizabeth, in 1566, and received them from her again, to hold them after the English manner, by fee, doing homage, and fealty. Upon this occasion, Elizabeth conferred on Mac Carthy the titles of Baron of Valentia and Earl of Clancarthy. Camden says, “He died an aged man.”

* Camden’s *Elizabeth*. Hume. Sidney’s *Letters*.

The queen's letter to the Earl of Essex authorised the grant claimed by Florence Mac Carthy, only upon condition of his allegiance and loyal services. • He took these engagements upon himself, according to form,—but immediately, in defiance of them, employed himself in the erection of fortifications, and in calling an assembly to inaugurate him, The Mac Carthy Moore, contrary to law: and because they refused to comply with his wishes, he persecuted them with rigour.

The ceremony took place at his camp at Inniscarra, in the county of Cork, under the authority and direction of O'Neil, according to the manner used in ancient times, of inaugurating the Irish kings. Mac Carthy then took upon himself to appoint his own sheriff, and he became in reality (as Smith asserts in his "History of Kerry"), the most considerable man of his race since their first submission to the English, when their high rank and consequence were broken.

1599. Sir John Harrington was one of those who accompanied the Earl of Essex in his unfortunate expedition to Ireland. In one of his letters, he says, that having been kept some time waiting for convenient shipping, "In respect that all were taken up with sick soldiers, or with my lord-lieutenant's horses, I was desirous to make some use of the time that I should stay here, and was easily persuaded to go with my dear friend, Sir William Warren, to see some part of the realm northward, and the arch-rebel himself, with whom Sir William was to treat. But staying at Dundalk until the 15th of this month, and no certain news of the earl's coming, I went to see Newry, and then Carlingford, by the narrow

water, and could not return before Sir William Warren's first meeting with the Earl of Tyrone, which was on the 17th. How far they proceeded I know not, but it appeared that the earl was left in a good disposition, by keeping his appointment so well the next morning.

“As I afterwards found, Sir William had made such a good report of me, beyond my deserts, that next day, when I came, the earl received me with far greater respect than I expected. He began to debase his own hard manner of life, comparing himself to the wolves, that fill their bellies, and fast as long for it. He then excused himself to me that he could not better recal to mind friends in England, of whom I was one who had shown him courtesy, and been often in company with him, at my Lord Ormond's, but these troubles, he added, made him forget all his friends.

“He then turned to Sir William, and held private communication with him, concerning the business they had begun the day before, into which I thought it not right to intrude; but I amused myself, meanwhile, by posing the earl's two sons in their learning: their tutors were present—Friar Nangle, a Franciscan, and a younger student, whose name I did not hear. Finding the two children of good towardly spirit, their age between thirteen and fifteen, dressed in English clothes, like the sons of a nobleman, with velvet gerkins and gold lace, of a good cheerful aspect, and freckled faces: not tall of stature, but strong and well-set, both of them speaking English. I gave them my English translation of Ariosto, which I got at Dublin, first asking the advice of Sir William Warren. Their teachers took it very

thankfully, and showed it to the earl, who must needs hear some of it read. I turned, as it had been by chance, to the beginning of the forty-fifth canto, and some other passages of the book, which he seemed to like so well, that he solemnly swore his boys should read all the book over to him.*

“Then they resumed their conference, and the earl calling on me, said, I should witness, and tell my lord-lieutenant, how, against the will of all his confederates, Sir William had drawn him to a longer cessation; which he never would have agreed to, but in confidence of my lord’s honourable dealing with him: for, saith he, now is my harvest-time; now have my men their six weeks’ pay aforehand, that they have nothing to do but to fight; and if I omit this opportunity, and, in the meantime, you prepare to invade me, I may be condemned for a fool.

“One thing I noted, that the paper being drawn, and given to him to sign, he wrote O’Neil. Sir William, with great difficulty, persuaded him to write it again, and subscribe Hugh Tyrone.

“We then had breakfast, at which he was very merry. It was my hap to thwart one of his priests in an argument, to which he gave good ear, and some approbation. He drank to the health of the lord-lieutenant, and bade me tell him he loved him, and acknowledged how honourably he had kept the cessation. He also made a solemn protestation that he was not ambitious: all he sought for was safety of his life, and freedom of his

* “Tyrone was very accomplished, and spoke four modern languages with the fluency of a native.”—*Plowden*.

conscience, without which he would not live, though the queen would give him Ireland. He then asked for news of Sir Henry Harrington, and said, he had heard the wrong he had received, in an imputation of want of courage, for the last defeat, at Arklow: protesting that himself had known Sir Henry serve as valiantly as ever any man did,—naming the time, place, and persons, all known to Sir William Warren.

“Other pleasant and idle tales it were needless to describe, or The O’Neil’s fern table and fern forms, spread under the stately canopy of heaven. His guards were chiefly beardless boys, without shirts; who, in the frost, wade as familiarly through rivers as water-spaniels. With what charm such a master makes them love him I know not; but if he bid come, they come; if he bid go, they go; if he says do this, they do it. He makes a show apparently as if he desired peace; and some of his most intimate followers whisper among themselves, that some rumour of a league between England and Spain, or with Scotland, or I know not where, may endanger them. But O’Neil himself, no doubt, only waits to hear what my lord-lieutenant intends, and according to that, will bend his course. Friar Nangle swears all oaths, that he will do all the good he can, and is guiltless of the heinous crimes he is charged with.

“This is all I remember any way worthy of writing to you, not doubting but that Sir William Warren, who had the sole charge of this business, will tell you of the weightier affairs, more than I can, who only went to see their manner of parting.

“I remain, in much duty,

“JOHN HARRINGTON.”

This letter was written to Justice Cary, in 1599.

Another written, by the same person, to Sir Anthony Standen, soon after his return from Ireland, is as follows :—

“ Sir,

“ It is not the waters of Lethe, that make us forget our friends, but it is the lack of good messengers; for who would write, knowing that his letters shall be opened on the way, and construed at pleasure, or rather displeasure? Some did this in Ireland, who have, perhaps, repented of it in England. I came to court in the very heat and height of all displeasure. After I had been there but an hour, I was threatend with the Fleet. I answered poetically, that coming so lately from the land service, I hoped that I should not be pressed to serve in her Majesty's Fleet, in Fleet Street. After three days, men wondered to see me at liberty. But though in conscience there was neither rhyme nor reason to punish me for going to see Tyrone, yet, if my rhyme had not been better than my reason (when I gave the young Baron of Dungannon an Ariosto), I think I had lain by the heels for it. But I was so fortunate, that after four or five days, that the queen talked of me, and twice that she talked to me, though very briefly; she gave me a full and gracious audience in the withdrawing chamber, at Whitehall, where, being herself the accuser, the witness, and the judge, I was cleared, and graciously dismissed. What should I say? I seemed, to myself, for a time, in an extatic delirium, and heard unutterable things. I must not utter them. I shall never, on earth,

stand before a statelier judge, nor one that can temper majesty, wisdom, learning, choler, and favour, better than her highness did at that time. Thus much I venture to write by this boy, but I trust him with no messages. I came here in December, but since, I hear little and do nothing but sit by a good fire, and feed my lean horses, and hearken for good news but hear none, save the certain expectation of peace with Spain.

“You wonder I write nothing of one (the Earl of Essex). He is where he was, and I think must be, till these greater businesses are concluded. Let this suffice from a plain country knight, who lives among clouted shoes, in his frize jacket and gamoshes; and who envies not the great commanders of Ireland.

“Your true friend,

“JOHN HARRINGTON.”

“Kelston, near Bath,

“Feb. 20, 1599.”

From Sir J. Harrington to Sir Hugh Portmant, Knight.

“My honoured Friend,

“I humbly thank you for that venison; I did not eat, but my wife did it much credit. For six weeks I left my oxen and sheep, and ventured to court, where I find many lean kind of beasts, and some of them not unhorned. Much was my comfort in being well received, notwithstanding it is an ill hour for seeing the queen. In good soothe, I feared her majesty more than the Earl of Tyrone, and wished I had never received the honour of knighthood from the Earl of Essex. She is quite disfavoured, and unattired, and these troubles

waste her much. She disregards every costly cover that comes to her table, and takes little but manchet and succory pottage. Every new message from the city disturbs her, and she frowns on all the ladies. I had a sharp message from her, brought by Lord Buckhurst. 'Go tell that witty fellow, my godson, to get home; it is no season now to fool it here.' I liked this as little as she doth my knighthood, so took to my boots and returned to the plow in bad weather. I must not say much, even by this trusty and sure messenger, but the many plots and designs hath overcome all her highness's sweet temper. She walks much in her privy chamber, and stamps with her feet at ill news, and thrusts her rusty sword at times into the arras in great rage. She always keeps a sword at her table. I obtained a short audience at my first coming to court, when her highness told me, if ill counsel had brought me so far from home, she wished heaven might mar that fortune which she had mended. I made my peace in this point, and will not leave my poor castle of Kelston, for fear of finding a worse elsewhere. I will eat Albourn rabbits, and get fish, as you recommend, and get partridges and hares when I can, and venison where I can, and leave all great matters to those that like them better than myself.

"So disordered is all order, that her highness has worn but one change of raiment for many days, and swears much at those who cause her grief.

"JOHN HARRINGTON."*

"From Kelston, Oct. 5, 1601."

* *Annual Register*. Vol. 12.

The truce, from six weeks to six weeks, had scarcely terminated for the second time, when O'Neil again collected his forces and prepared for war: the council of Ireland sent Sir William Warren, Knight, to demand why he had broken the truce? He answered, arrogantly, that he had not broken the truce, inasmuch as he had given fourteen days' notice beforehand that he would renew the war; that he had just cause to renew it, since the Earl of Essex, the lord-lieutenant, in whom he had built all his hopes for life and safety, was kept in custody in England. Further, he declared he would have nothing to do with the council in Ireland, which had heretofore dealt fraudulently with him.*

He now publicly boasted of his determination to maintain the religion and freedom of his country. He received all seditious persons, and confirmed those who were wavering in the principles of rebellion.

Under pretence of going on pilgrimage to Holy Cross, an abbey in Tipperary, he prevailed on the Earl of Ormond to grant him a truce for a month. His real purpose was to stir up the chieftains in the south to renew their efforts for the restoration of popery and liberty. He received encouraging promises and indulgences from the pope, together with as flimsy a present as that which was sent some centuries back by Urban III. (*i.e.* a crown of peacock's feathers to young John.) O'Neil's gift had even less reality—it was a plume, said to have been made of the *feathers of the Phoenix*.

1600. On his way to meet the Spaniards at Kinsale,

* Camden.

O'Neil, in passing Castlemore, near Mallow, asked who lived in that castle? Being answered that it belonged to a good Romanist, whose name was Barret, and that all his race were of the same persuasion, settled there four hundred years ago, he exclaimed, with an oath, in Irish, "No matter, I hate the English churl, as if he came but yesterday."

He addressed a letter to Clement VIII., blasphemously styling him "the Father of the Spirits on Earth." * "He beseeches him to renew the excommunication against Elizabeth, in order that the faithful Irish *subjects of his holiness* may act with the greater success in the defence of *his kingdom*."

The pope wrote the following answer:—

"To our beloved son, the illustrious Prince Hugh O'Neil, Captain-general of the Catholick army in Ireland,

"Health and apostolical benediction.

"We have been informed, by your letter, and by the report of our dear son, Peter Lombard, principal of Cambray, that the holy alliance, which you and many other princes and nobles of Ireland have formed, is, by the mercy of God, maintained and strengthened; and that, by the aid of the same Lord of Hosts, you have often combatted successfully against the English, the apostates from the church and faith. We have derived great joy from these tidings, and have given thanks to God, the Father of mercies, who has still left in Ireland

* Camden. Smith's *Cork*.

many thousands of men who have not bowed the knee to Baal. For these have not gone after impious heresies, or profane novelties, but have fought manfully in detestation of them, *for the inheritance of their fathers*, for the preservation of the faith, for the maintainance of unity with the one Catholic and apostolic church, out of which there is no salvation. We commend, dear son, your pious magnanimity, and also that of the princes and all others, who, in league with you, decline no dangers for the glory of God, and prove themselves worthy successors of their ancestors; men renowned for martial exploits, and for zeal in the Catholic cause. Preserve, children, this excellent spirit; preserve your martial concord, and the God of peace will be with you, and will prostrate your enemies before your face. As for us, we love and cherish, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, your highness and all other *imitators* of the faith and *valour of their forefathers*; we do not cease to pray to God for your safety and happiness, and when opportunity offers, we shall write to our children, the Catholic kings and princes, that they give you and your cause all possible assistance. It is also our intention to send to you, speedily, some special and trusty nuncio, a man of piety and prudence, inflamed with zeal towards God, and devotion to your interests, who may aid you in maintaining unity, in propagating the faith, and forwarding all other measures for the advancement of God's honour and worship. In the mean-time, we send you these presents, as pledges of our love to you and your country, and for your consolation as our beloved children in Christ. We have heard with pleasure, and

shall continue to hear, Peter Lombard, whom you have sent to us as your ambassador. And so we impart to you, and to those who join with you in the propagation of the faith, our apostolical benediction; and we pray God, that he will send out his angels about your paths, that he will guide you by his grace, and protect you by the power of his outstretched arm.

“Given from St. Peter’s, &c., 20th January, 1601.”*

The Peter Lombard here spoken of, was afterwards titular Archbishop of Armagh.

Eugene Mac Egan, the titular Bishop of Ross, and vicar apostolic of Munster, supported by his brethren of Clonfert and Killaloe, and by other leading ecclesiastics, thundered out an anathema against all who should take up arms in the cause of heresy, or *give quarter* to the prisoners of the heretical army. The course he pursued towards such offenders, displayed at once the vengeance and tender mercies of papacy; they were restored to the peace of the church by absolution, and instantly after executed in the presence of the bishop, who met with his own death, with his sword in one hand, and beads and breviary in the other, while leading on his troop of a hundred horse against a party of loyalists.†

* Mac Geoghegan, *Histoire d’Irlande*, ii.

† Phelan’s *Church of Rome in Ireland*.

CHAPTER XII.

Lord Mountjoy, Viceroy—His useful exertions, and success—
O'Neil's Reverses—Erection of a new Fort, called Mount Norris
—Sir George Carew, President of Munster—The Sungan Earl
and Florence Mac Carthy apprehended, and sent Prisoners to
London—Landing of the Spaniards—Siege of Kinsale—O'Neil's
Retreat—Mountjoy's Treaty with the Spaniards—Siege of
Dunboy—Flight of O'Sullivan, the Prince of Beare and Bantry
—Subjugation of Ulster—O'Neil's last Submission—Death of
the Queen—State of Religion—Superstitious and Barbarous
Customs.

1599. CHARLES BLOUNT, Lord Mountjoy, now lord-lieutenant, arrived, unexpectedly, in the depth of winter, and was so little accounted of by O'Neil, that he was heard to say—"He will let the time pass for action while his breakfast is preparing." The queen herself had not much confidence in his military tactics. However, he came fully determined, from the very commencement, to prosecute the war against O'Neil, who was then in the west of Munster, hemmed in by the Earls of Ormond, Thomond, and Clanricarde, without any open passage, except the western borders of the Pale. In the hope of cutting that off also, Mountjoy hastened his march to Mullingar,—but on his arrival,

had the mortification to learn that O'Neil had eluded the vigilance of those who were watching his movements, and was gone back to the north. The lord-lieutenant suspected some treachery, on the following grounds:—

Sir George Carew had been made President of Munster early in April; on his way to that province, he was entertained magnificently at Kilkenny, by the Earl of Ormond. The Earl of Thomond, with eight hundred horse and foot, accompanied the president. Lord Ormond told them, that on the following morning, he was to hold a parley with the great agitator of Leinster, Rory O'Moore, and invited them to be present. Carew made no objection, provided they had an escort of one hundred of his horse, in addition to the earl's two hundred. Ormond, objecting to such a force, as unnecessary, ordered his own troop to halt, two miles distant from the place of conference; which was on a heath, eight miles from Kilkenny. The earl repaired thither with but seventeen men-in-arms. O'Moore was already at the place of rendezvous, much more strongly attended. He had a band of pikemen, a troop of horse, and, in a wood within view, at the distance of half cannon-shot, he had stationed five hundred men.

After more than an hour's conference, Carew pressed Lord Ormond to retire: he excused himself, saying, that he must have some communication with Archer, the Jesuit who attended O'Moore. This man was a noted incendiary. An altercation took place, and, in the meantime, the rebels were gradually advancing from the wood, and surrounding them. Carew and

Thomond, perceiving this, spurred their horses, and dashed forward, at the risk of their lives. Perceiving that the Earl of Ormond was seized, the president would have persuaded his attendants to rescue him, but, under the impression of his voluntary surrender, they refused.

Ormond was also suspected of holding private correspondence with O'Neil, from whom he had recently received letters. When O'Moore proposed terms for Ormond's liberation, Lord Mountjoy rejected them with scorn.

Without loss of time, he despatched detachments to Dundalk, Ardee, Kells, Newry, and Carlingford; and sent Sir Henry Docwra to Lough Foyle, with four thousand men: he landed in Innishowen, O'Dogherty's territory:—and soon got possession of Derry, Culmore, and Dunalong, each of which he fortified strongly.*

Sir Francis Cosby, who had distinguished himself in the wars of the Low-Countries, during the reign of Henry VIII., afterwards commanded an army in Ireland, by which he defended the Pale from the assaults of the O'Moores. His residence was Stradbally Castle, in the Queen's County. Elizabeth gave him a discretionary commission to execute martial law on all rebels; and, according to our Irish annalists, he exercised his authority so relentlessly, that a gibbet, which he erected for the purpose, near his castle, was scarcely ever seen without the exhibition of a victim.

In 1589, his descendant, Sir Alexander Cosby, was treacherously seized, at a conference, and bound to a

* Leland.

tree, by Rory O'Moore. A sharp contest ensued between the two parties. The friends of Cosby prevailing, they rescued their chief, who revengefully executed every rebel that fell into his hands. His lady, a relative of Sir Henry Sidney, was in high favour with Elizabeth, who gave large grants of land to Sir Alexander, in the Queen's County. His wife was so proud of her family name, that she never assumed that of her husband, always calling herself "Dorcas Sidney."

The warfare between Cosby and O'Moore, terminated only with the death of Sir Alexander and his eldest son.

On the 19th of May, 1596, a rebel chieftain, named Otterburn, demanded a passage over Stradbally Bridge: Cosby, with his son Francis, and his kernes, posted at the bridge, opposed him. Dorcas Sidney, whose mind was masculine, witnessed the struggle from the abbey window, where she sat, with her son's wife. They both saw the conflict,—the furious advance of the O'Moores, and the intrepid resistance of the Cosbys, until Sir Alexander fell slain upon the ground;—they saw his kernes give way, and his son's vain attempt to leap over the battlements of the bridge, when, in an instant, he too was numbered with the dead. They beheld this, and their observations betrayed no feminine sensibility. The younger widow, turning to the elder, bid her remember the father was slain before the son, and, consequently, she became entitled to the thirds, or dowry, of her husband's legal possessions. This lady was of the Hartpole family, and had a son, who died in his infancy. Both ladies, with the nurse and child, had just effected their escape from the abbey, when the O'Moores forced

an entrance, and, after having murdered the inmates, they plundered the house of everything valuable.*

In the month of May, the viceroy made an attack upon O'Neil, whom he found entrenched between Newry and Armagh: after some resistance, the rebel forces, being routed, fled into the woods. The days of O'Neil's prosperity had passed away. No longer regarded as an invincible warrior, he was forsaken by many of his adherents. Even some of those closely connected with him by blood or affinity, yielded to the lord-lieutenant, while others joined the forces of Sir H. Docwra. Sir Arthur O'Neil, the son of the late Turlogh Lynogh, and Garruffe (*i. e.* the boisterous), in laying down their arms, sued for the chieftaincy of Tyrone and Tyrconnel. The first claim was by right of inheritance; the last (also an O'Neil), as being in affinity to O'Donnel, Red Hugh having married the daughter of the Earl of Tyrone. Mountjoy granted such concessions as were judicious, but not all that the petitioners required.

O'Moore's and Tirrel's ravages in Leinster, called for the exertions of the viceroy. He led his forces thither with the same determined bravery with which he had assailed those of O'Neil, and was equally successful. After having defeated the rebels, he pursued them into

* In 1606, Richard, the brother of Francis, and inheritor of his estates, in a pitched battle with the O'Moores, avenged the death of his father and brother, in the glen of Aughnahely, under the rock of Dunamase. It was the spirit of the times, never to rest satisfied until blood answered for blood; thus the spirit of vengeance was kept up from generation to generation by contending parties.—*M'Gregor.*

the Queen's County, where O'Moore was killed, and Lord Ormond's hostages were rescued. He had been liberated by O'Moore, on giving hostages for the payment of a large sum of money for his ransom.

When Mountjoy was marching towards Leinster, O'Neil made an effort to impede him. The equinoctial gales were succeeded by torrents of rain, which swelled the mountain rivers to overflowing. Between the Carlingford mountains, on the line of the march, there was a difficult pass, now rendered nearly impassible. In order to block it up more effectually, the rebels displayed both skill and ingenuity. They constructed a stoppage, composed of stakes entwined with wattles, built up, on either side, with stones and earth. The place was still further defended by deep trenches, and a troop of O'Neil's soldiers. Extensive bogs and woods precluded all possibility of escape, except by this pass. Lord Mountjoy, aware of the difficulty and hazard, ordered his men to halt until the floods had subsided. When this took place, they advanced courageously, and, by a powerful rush, forced and fought their way through the barrier:—O'Neil's guard was dispersed, with loss of life.

The viceroy, in clearing one obstacle, found others. The glens of Leinster sheltered and concealed the rebels, whom he hunted from their hiding-places. Tirrel fled to Ulster. This renowned warrior, though an Englishman by birth, was a mortal enemy to the English.

A detachment, under the command of Sir Richard Morison, laid waste the territories of Fernes, and the Fewes in Ulster. The Fewes is spoken of by Camden, as

a small territory belonging to Turlogh Mac Henry, a branch of the O'Neils; it abounded in woods, bogs, and lakes, which rendered it almost inaccessible to an army.

On the return of spring, Lord Mountjoy marched to the county of Armagh, and reduced all the rebel fortresses thereabouts. He was on his way to Blackwater, when tidings from Munster arrested his progress, and caused him to march towards that province.

The Knight of Kerry, William Fitz-Gerald, abandoned the cause of the rebels, and refused to admit the Sutan Earl of Desmond into his castle at Dingle. Before quitting the town, Desmond set it on fire, and, with insatiable vengeance and after having mustered additional forces, he returned, to plunder the lands of the knight. But he met with such a resistance, as compelled him to save himself by flight, after the loss of his principal adherents. The remainder of his history may be comprised in a few words:—a detachment of the royal army, under the command of Sir Charles Wilmot, hunted the mock earl from one hiding-place to another, in the borders of Tipperary and Aharlow Wood, until his forces were reduced to five men, two of whom were the pope's emissaries. His final retreat was a cave, where he was discovered by Sir George Carew, by whom he was arrested, and arraigned as a traitor.

The English army were victorious in Munster. They took possession of all the strongholds of the rebels, the castle of Listowel excepted. It belonged to Lord Kerry, and was besieged by Sir Charles Wilmot, on the 5th of November. Lord Kerry was so confident of the impregnable nature of his fortress, that he made it the

depository of all he held most precious. In addition to his valuable effects, his son and heir was placed under the protection of the garrison, in Listowel Castle. The soldiers were faithful to their charge, when they were forced to surrender, the fortress being undermined, regardless of their own lives, they saved the child; having undressed him, they disguised his little face by blacking it: then covering him up on the back of an old woman, they conveyed both through the enemy's camp, unsuspected.

When Sir Charles Wilmot had been apprized of the circumstance, and made diligent search, in vain, for the boy, who was only five years old, he threatened a priest, named Mac Brodie, with instant death, unless he disclosed the infant's place of concealment: but he persevered in his refusal until fully assured that the child's life, as well as his own, should be preserved. He then led the way to a wood, six miles distant from the castle, and pointed out a cave, the entrance to which was covered with thorns and brambles, seemingly impervious. It was the hiding-place of the nurse and child: the latter was immediately sent as a hostage to the president, for the future fidelity of his father. This honourable proof of faithful attachment to their lord, did not save the lives of the garrison. They were all sentenced as traitors, and put to death.

The inhabitants of Leinster had rest for a season, which they made use of in cultivating their lands, and there was the prospect of an abundant harvest. But fresh insurrections laid their fair prospects low. Famine was an expediency by which the English hoped

to reduce the Irish rebels; and the queen's soldiers, led on by the example of their officers, in every part ruthlessly cut down the standing corn with their swords, —thus depriving the wretched inhabitants of the means of subsistence. Nor was this cruel expedient practised exclusively here. Sir Arthur Chichester, the Governor of Carrickfergus, destroyed the fruits of the ground, leaving the country like a waste wilderness for twenty miles in extent. The lands round Newry were devastated by Sir Samuel Bagnal and the garrison. But they themselves suffered in consequence.—The country round Armagh was so wasted, that no provisions being found for the English garrison, they were forced to erect a new fort, eight miles distant from the town, which Lord Mountjoy called Mount Norris,* in honour of Sir John Norris, under whom he had received the first rudiments in the profession of arms, and whom he esteemed a great general. The enemy made many attempts to interrupt this work, but were always successfully repulsed. Mountjoy appointed a brave officer, Edward Blaney, to be Governor of Mount Norris, who performed good service.†

O'Neil at length received intelligence that the succour, which he had earnestly solicited from Spain, was actually approaching, under the conduct of Don Juan d' Aquila. This news was announced by Matteo Oviedo, a Spaniard, whom the pope had nominated Archbishop of Dublin, also by the Bishops of Clonfert and of

* Orry, a place without woods, was that on which Lord Mountjoy built his fort, called Mount Norris.—*Camden*.

† *Camden*. Leland.

Killaloe—Archer, the jesuit, was sent on the same mission.

O'Neil and his confederates had fixed on Munster as the most central place of meeting. Sir George Carew had received information of this, and that, although he had granted a protection to Florence Mac Carthy, that rebel chieftain, who in duplicity was equal to O'Neil, had levied one thousand men, and had already infringed his treaty by many depredations. When accusations were brought against him, he evaded them by various subterfuges. Sir George Carew, paying him in his own coin, pretended to believe all he said, and hoping to take him by craft, invited him to a conference. This he declined. The president then advised him to procure a confirmation of the grant of his estates from the queen, by a personal application. He agreed to this, provided that money could be raised sufficient to pay his travelling expenses. Sir George Carew undertook to procure the sum necessary, which was sent to him; but instead of going to England, Mac Carthy purchased hides and tallow, and having freighted a ship, sent it to traffic abroad, with a commission to bring back a supply of arms and ammunition, to be landed at his harbour at Valentia. He had also sent agents into different provinces to promote the rebellion. He was at length arrested at Cork, and sent to England, where the Sagan Earl had preceded him.* Neither the vice-roy, nor the council of England, could be persuaded that the Spaniards were coming; Sir George Carew,

* Smith's *Kerry*. Camden.

not being so incredulous, made the best provision he could for a siege, at Cork, where he stationed a reinforcement of two thousand men, lately arrived from England.

Having received positive intelligence, in the middle of September, that the invaders were under sail, the president lost no time in forwarding this news to Lord Mountjoy, who was at Kilkenny, where he appointed Carew to meet him; but before he could obey the summons, he heard that the Spanish fleet was in sight; whereupon, having left Sir Charles Wilmot at Cork, as governor, he hastened to Lord Mountjoy, who returned with him to Cork; but instead of landing at that haven, as was expected, the Spanish vessels cast anchor at Kinsale, on the 23rd of September, 1601. The English garrison, consisting of one hundred and fifty men, under the command of Sir Richard Percy, retired immediately to Cork, leaving the town in their possession. The chief magistrate provided them with quarters, amidst the welcome salutations of the townsmen. By order of the president, the country round had been stripped of cattle, and other means of provision, before the landing of the Spaniards.

Don Juan's welcome was heightened by his high-sounding title of "Master-General and Captain of the Catholic King, in God's war, for maintaining the faith in Ireland." He dispersed notices among the people, which announced the sentences of several Popes of Rome, depriving Elizabeth of her crown, and absolving the Irish from their oath of allegiance. The precious proclamation closed with an assurance that the "Spaniards

were come to deliver Ireland out of the jaws of the devil." It attracted many to join with the invaders.

Kinsale had not the advantage of fortifications. The Spaniards had nothing to rely on but their numbers and resolution: five thousand fighting men, lodged within the town, were sufficient to maintain it for a considerable time. They had also taken possession of the castle of Rincurran, which, from its situation, was very important; it commanded the haven, so as to defend ships coming in, if friends, or assail them, if enemies.

O'Neil and O'Donnel had been advertised of the landing of the Spaniards, with a pressing entreaty to hasten to Kinsale, with all the forces they could muster.*

Lord Mountjoy advanced with his army of eight thousand men, which he encamped within a mile and a-half of Kinsale. His first attack was on Rincurran, which soon surrendered; and the Spanish garrison, one hundred and fifty men, were sent prisoners to Cork. The royal army had been divided, upon the intelligence received that the northern rebels were making rapid progress to join the foreigners; one part marched under the command of Sir George Carew, to oppose them, while the remaining part, under the viceroy, besieged Kinsale. Carew pressed closely upon the rebels, but could never come up with them; they had recourse to their old ways of concealing themselves in woods, &c. After a fruitless pursuit, Carew returned to the besiegers

* Camden. Smith's *Cork*, and *Kerry*.

at Kinsale, where he found a considerable increase in the royal army; the Earls of Thomond and Clanricarde had joined it with all their forces, and Sir Richard Leviston, one of the queen's admirals, had arrived at Cork with some ships of war, two thousand infantry, and military stores.

The besiegers gained another fort, Castlepark, opposite to Rincurran, and still advancing in the siege, the Spanish general was summoned to surrender the town. He answered, that as he held it for Christ and the King of Spain, he would maintain it against all enemies.

Distressing news now reached the English camp. Six ships from Spain had put in at Castlehaven, and landed two thousand men, under the command of Alphonso Ocampo, with stores of ordnance and ammunition. Six more were expected, which the Spaniards said had sailed with them, but were separated from the fleet by a storm. More and more supplies, they reported, were being prepared by the King of Spain, who was determined to support the Irish in this war.

O'Donnel had joined his forces to the invaders, and O'Neil was near at hand. Munster, which had been quieted through the exertions of the president and Sir Charles Wilmot, was roused to action. Many of the septs in the counties of Cork, Limerick, and Kerry, declared for the Spaniards. The O'Driscols surrendered to them their forts at Castlehaven, Baltimore, and Berehaven. O'Sullivan Beare received a Spanish garrison into his castle of Dunboy; and O'Connor Kerry allowed them to take possession of Carrigfoyle, and to

put the whole garrison to the sword. D'Aquila was enabled to place garrisons in these several stations, and lavishly dispensed his gold among the revolutionists.

Admiral Leviston, who had been despatched to Castlehaven, after having destroyed and sunk some of the enemy's ships, suffered much himself from contrary winds, and exposure to a battery, erected purposely to annoy him, and which did such execution, that he returned to Kinsale in a shattered condition.*

Tyrone had advanced within six miles of the camp, and cut off all intercourse with Cork. Thus the besiegers were besieged, without the means of procuring forage;—their provisions failed, and hunger was added to their calamities. Several of the men dropped dead at their posts, from exhaustion: and numbers deserted. These difficulties did not discourage the viceroy; he secured his camp with new works, and prosecuted the siege with all possible vigour.

On the 21st of December, O'Neil was seen encamped on a hill, about a mile off: on the following day he was again seen, in the same position. The next night the Spaniards made a sally from the town, but were beaten back.

December 23. Letters were intercepted from D'Aquila to Tyrone, entreating him to send forward the Spaniards lately arrived, and attack the English on both sides at once.

Lord Mountjoy gave orders that eight companies of veteran soldiers should be drawn out, by moonlight, in

* Leland.

battle array, on the west side of the camp. Very early in the morning, the scout gave notice that there were numerous tapers lighted in the rebel camp, as if preparing to advance; whereupon, Mountjoy, and the marshal, Sir Richard Wingfield, chose out the most advantageous ground for receiving the enemy. Tyrone had intended to lead the Spaniards, with eight hundred Irish, by night, into Kinsale; but not being able to accomplish this before the dawn of a new day, discovered the English army prepared to intercept him: he found that nothing remained for him but a precipitate flight. This was effected in great confusion, Lord Mountjoy pursuing, and the rout was complete. Tirrel, with his troop and the Spaniards, gallantly stood their ground, until they were broken and cut down with great slaughter. Don Alphonso Ocampo was taken prisoner, with three other Spanish leaders, and six ensigns:—twelve hundred men were slain, and nine colours taken. Many of the English were wounded; but, on their side, comparatively, the loss of life was inconsiderable.

Lord Mountjoy, after having, amidst heaps of dead bodies, returned thanks to Almighty God, for a victory so decided and complete, returned to his camp.

During this engagement, Sir George Carew had kept his troops near the town, to prevent a sally; but past experience had taught the Spaniards the futility of such attempts, and they remained passive. News soon reached them of the flight of O'Neil and O'Donnel, the one to Ulster, the other to Spain, where he expected to procure further assistance; but he never returned.*

* Camden.

The Spanish general, on perceiving that the English were adding works for carrying on the siege, despatched a herald to Lord Mountjoy, entreating a parley; and Sir William Godolphin was sent to hold it. D'Aquila said that he had found the lord-lieutenant a resolute, but honourable, enemy;—the Irish, he feared, were perfidious, besides being weak and uncivil. The catholic king had sent him to two earls, but he questioned whether such earls had ever existed. One blast of the sound of war had blown O'Neil back to the north of Ireland, and O'Donnel to Spain; and, as no dependence could be placed on either, a treaty of peace, advantageous to England, and not dishonourable to Spain, was all he desired.

An agreement was arranged on the following terms: that the Spaniards should surrender Kinsale, Castlehaven, Baltimore, and Berehaven, to Lord Mountjoy, who was to provide them, on the part of the English, with ships, at a reasonable rate, to reconduct them to Spain. They were required to bind themselves, by delivering hostages, not to bear arms against the Queen of England. The articles of the treaty were sworn to and signed, 2nd January, 1602; and the Spaniards left Ireland, greatly diminished in number.*

In grateful acknowledgment for this signal victory, the English warriors subscribed £1800, to purchase books for the library of Trinity College, Dublin. Archbishop Usher afterwards went to London, to select and purchase those volumes, which formed the

* Camden.

commencement of a library which does honour to the Irish nation.

When the Irish chieftains heard of the compromise between the Spaniards and English, they were highly incensed, and some of them were still obstinately bent upon further resistance. Dunboy, the fort of Berehaven, was a stronghold which Daniel O'Sullivan had given up to the Spaniards. He had made every possible exertion, aided by two Spanish engineers, to strengthen his castle, which was deemed impregnable, in the solidity of its natural bulwarks of high rocks, &c. O'Sullivan, exasperated at the capitulation, suddenly surprised and disarmed the Spaniards: upon which the Spanish governor relinquished his charge, and embarked, with his garrison, at Baltimore. Richard Mac Geogheghan, a brave Irish officer, supplied his place. The Irish forces, which undertook the defence of this fortress, consisted of one thousand men, under the command of Lord Kerry, William Bourke, Tirrel, Archer, the Jesuit, and another priest. Captain Tirrel, with his company, was appointed to guard the mountain passes.

Sir George Carew, being perfectly aware of the difficulties and dangers attending the march of an army to Berehaven, made the passage by sea, with fifteen hundred men, from Bantry. Sir Charles Wilmot found great difficulty in crossing Mangerton Mountain, called by the author of "*Pacata Hibernia*," "a hideous and uncouth mountain." Tirrel and O'Sullivan had added obstacles to those of nature's forming.

In the beginning of June the English army laid siege

to Dunboy, which was gallantly defended by a resolute, zealous garrison. A tremendous fire was kept up from the fortress, while the besiegers were incessantly harassed by O'Sullivan and Tirrel. The English batteries, notwithstanding, did great execution. One of the principal towers being beaten down, a band of soldiers rushed through the breach, in spite of a most determined struggle to prevent them; and the lord-president's colours were seen waving on a turret of the barbican.

A shower of hail-shot, and every effort that in such an emergency could be devised, did not hinder the soldiers, who had gallantly forced an entrance, from pressing forward. At length the Irish gave way, many lay dead and dying. Mac Geogheghan, though mortally wounded, seized a lighted candle, which he would have thrown into an open barrel of gunpowder, if his hand had not been arrested by an English officer. Seeing it unsafe to let him live, so madly desperate, he was instantly killed. Not more than six or seven of the garrison escaped the slaughter which ensued, and they were reserved for a more ignominious execution at Cork and Youghal.

O'Sullivan, the Prince of Beare and Bantry, now became a fugitive with his wife and family. His followers collected round him in the wood of Glengarriff, from whence they were driven by Sir Charles Wilmot, who spoiled his country, leaving him bereft of the means of sustenance. He contrived to escape to Ulster, accompanied by Tirrel, William Bourke, O'Connor, and about one hundred men. Their passage over the Shannon was

effected by corraghs, which they made of wicker-work, covered with the skins of their horses, which they were obliged to kill for food, as well as for the formation of these boats. So long as their sustenance lasted they remained in Galway; but in pursuing their march towards Clanricarde, they encountered a detachment of English soldiers. A desperate conflict ensued; O'Sullivan was victorious, his enemies were routed, Malby, their captain, was killed; and the Irish, without further opposition, reached O'Rourke's country.

After the defeat and desertion of the Spaniards, O'Neil, bereft of hope for the future, in a wretched state of suspicion and dread, lurked in different places of concealment.

Lord Mountjoy, after having allowed his troops to rest during the remaining part of the wintry season, led them again into Ulster, where he erected new fortresses. One of these, near the old fort at Blackwater, he called Charlemont, from his own name Charles. Sir Toby Caufield was the first governor appointed here. He built another at Lough-Sidney (Lough Neagh), which he called Mountjoy Fort, and appointed Chichester, governor. He posted garrisons about Lough Foyle, and sent Sir Henry Docwra to Omagh, which he devastated—wherever the English soldiers appeared, this work was carried on—the standing corn cut down, the villages fired, the cattle driven from their pasturage, and the people left to starvation.

When this sad news reached O'Neil, he set fire to his own house, and town of Dungannon, rather than

allow the enemy to destroy them;* from thence he fled to Castle Roe, on the Ban, and afterwards entrenched himself at the head of a glen, near Lough Erne.

1602. Towards the close of this year, Sir Arthur Chichester, Sir Henry Docwra, and Sir Christopher St. Laurence, resolved on putting an end to all his future efforts, assailed Tyrone in his wooded vallies. It was a difficult enterprise, by reason of chasms, miry places, and thick woods: to these inconveniences were added, rough weather and perfidious guides. They persevered, however, in hunting the rebels from place to place, as they would have done wild beasts of prey, allowing them neither rest nor quarter, until they were wearied into submission. And now it was only who would come in first, throwing down their arms, and declaring that the ruin of the country lay upon O'Neil's shoulders. The chieftain himself, now, in reality, subdued, and deserted by his followers, wrote to the queen, in deep humility, and "floods of tears." She was dangerously ill, but declared her willingness to forgive all.

Lord Mountjoy summoned O'Neil to meet him at Mellifont, whither he repaired. The viceroy was in the presence-chamber, attended by a military guard, and sitting on his chair of state, near the door, when the degraded earl came forward;—his clothing mean and

* The Earl of Tyrone's house at Dungannon, Camden says, was "fairer built than commonly they bee in this country, but it has been defaced with fire by the lords themselves, that it might not be burned by the enemy."

dirty,—his aspect miserably dejected:—not venturing within the door, he fell silently at the threshold. After having suffered him to remain some time upon his knees, Lord Mountjoy beckoned him to approach:—he arose, bowed very low, advanced a few steps, then sunk again into his former abject position, and said,—“I acknowledge my sin against God, and my fault against my most gracious queen and sovereign lady, to whose royal clemency, as a sacred anchor, I betake myself,—offering up my life and estate to be at her disposal,—whose former bounty and present power, as I have felt, so I most humbly beseech her that I may now taste of her mercy, and be made an eternal example of her clemency. My age is not so far spent, nor my body so feeble, nor my spirit so broken, but that by my valiant and faithful services, I may yet expiate the sin of this my rebellion.” *

He was proceeding, as he had formerly done, in casting blame upon others to vindicate himself; but the viceroy interrupted him, saying, there was no excuse whatever for his aggravated offences; and, after a few more words, spoken with the authority of a sovereign and conqueror, he commanded him to withdraw, and, on the following day, took him to Dublin, from whence he intended to conduct him to the queen.

Thus ended Tyrone's rebellion, eight years after it first broke out.†

In the year 1599, Ireland cost the queen £600,000

* Camden's *Elizabeth*.

† In acknowledgment of Mountjoy's good services in terminating this war, King James created him Earl of Devonshire.

in six months. Sir Robert Cecil affirmed that, in ten years time, Ireland had cost her £3,400,000. She made the Earl of Essex a present of £30,000, upon his departure for the government of that kingdom.

March 24, 1603, Elizabeth fell into a lethargic slumber, which continued some hours. She expired gently, in the seventieth year of her age, and forty-fifth of her reign.*

Sir Henry Sidney, whom the people called "the good lord-deputie," wrote a long letter to Queen Elizabeth, dated 28th April, 1576, giving a melancholy account of the state of religion. He seems to have been the first English governor who really saw the necessity of proclaiming the gospel of Christ in the vernacular tongue.

Dr. Powel, in his "History of Wales," says of Sir Henry Sidney—"His disposition was rather to seek after the antiquities, and study the public weal of the countries which he governed, than to obtain lands and revenues of the same; for I know not one foot of land that he had either in Wales or Ireland."

He spent six months in making a tour through Ireland: it is said, he "passed thorough eche province, and bene almost in eche county thereof." In his letter to the queen, he tells her, that in the diocese of Meath, there were two hundred and twenty-four parish churches, and not one glebe-house, nor even a place of residence for a clergyman. But few of the churches were roofed; windows and doors were demolished, and very many of

* Hume.

the buildings thrown down. He says, "If this be the state of the church in the best peopled diocese, and best governed county, easy it is for your majesty to conjecture in what case the rest is, where little or no reformation, either of religion or manners, hath yet been planted. So profane and heathenish are some parts of this your country, that the sacrament of baptism is not used among them. Your majesty may believe it, that upon the face of the earth, where Christ is professed, there is not a church in so miserable a case."

In representing the absolute necessity for ministers of the word, he says, "In the choice of which ministers for the remote places, where the English tongue is not understood, it is most necessary that such be chosen as can speak Irish, for which search should be made, first and speedily, in your own universities, and any found there well-affected in religion, and well-conditioned beside, they would be animated by your majesty:—yea, though it were somewhat at your highness's charge;—and, on peril of my life, you will find it restored, with gain, before three years be expired. If there be no such there, or not enough, for I wish ten or twelve, at the least, to be sent, then I do wish that you would write to the Regent of Scotland, where, as I learn, there are many that are of this language; and though, for a while, your majesty were at some charge, it were well-bestowed, for in some short time, thousands would be gained to Christ, that now are lost, or left at the worst."

Spenser's account of the churches corresponds with this. The greater number of them lay in ruins, even with the ground; and some, which had been repaired,

were “roughly patched and thatched, in such tottering condition, that the people rather shunned than came to places so unseemly to look upon;—a sightly building being much accounted of, even by the poor wild Irish, who think God’s house should be fit for his holy worship.” He further states the deficiency in church government. There were no churchwardens appointed, as in England, to keep things in order; neither were there school-houses erected near the churches, for the instruction of the young, and their initiation in the principles of religion, by which they might be drawn to frequent the church, and to love its services.

The difficulty of access to these places of worship was a great impediment. High roads were scarce, and by-ways full of obstacles. Impetuous streams without bridges; miry places without stepping-stones; and bogs hard to be traversed, by reason of much roughness, and deep cuts filled with water. Then there were thick woods, and other hiding-places for thieves and highwaymen.

Spenser did not approve of the means used to recommend religion. Terror and sharp penalties were to force them to adopt new forms, instead of gently drawing them by the cords of love. Thus they hated, without understanding, the new system. Meanwhile, no trouble or pains were taken to reconcile them to it. Our historian says, “If that the ancient godly fathers, which first converted them, when they were infidels, to the faith, were able to pluck them from idolatry and Paganism, to the true belief in Christ, how much more easily shall godly teachers lead them to the true understanding of that which they already professed.” His

character of the clergy accounts for the dereliction. "Some of our idle ministers, having had livings offered them without pain or peril, will not, for the love of God, or zeal for religion, be drawn from their warm nests to look into God's harvest; all the fields were yellow long ago, and are even now ripe for the sickle. Doubtless those good old fathers will rise up in the day of judgment to condemn them."

Spenser understood what true religion is, though he gives a poor account of its progress in himself. "For religion, little have I to say myself, being not professed therein, and itself being but one, as there is but one way therein; for that which is true only is, and the rest is not at all."

He says that not one of the people in a hundred had any ground of religion or article of faith. They repeated the "Paternoster" and "Ave Maria," without understanding one word of either.

The Irish clergy, who held church livings, were mere laymen, minding their farms and occupied with worldly cares, while the care of souls was totally neglected. The scriptures were neither read nor preached, neither was the holy communion administered. Tithes, offerings, and first-fruits of their livings, were carefully gathered in. Shares and tributes were punctually paid to the bishops to ward off an investigation, which would deprive them of these benefices. Many of the dioceses are in remote places, "out of the world's eye." The bishops keep their benefices in their own hands, and send out their horse-boys and servants to receive the tithes, with which they purchase lands, and build fair

castles. If this abuse be noticed, they have a ready answer. No minister can be found, they say, worthy of these preferments, and therefore they still reserve them in their own hands. Many English candidates for these livings were men of bad character, or extremely ignorant. In such circumstances, how could the progress of religion be otherwise than slow? The grand obstacle has been already noticed; the Latin mass they could not understand, and the English language they hated. Camden says, that one of the old Irish chieftains refused to learn English, for that in trying to speak it, he made a wry mouth.

Erasmus says, "The mysteries of kings ought, perhaps, to be concealed, but the mystery of Christ strenuously urges publication. I would have the meanest of women to read the gospels and the epistles of St. Paul; and I wish that the scriptures might be translated into all languages, that they might be known and read, not only by the *Irish* and Scots, but also by Saracens and Turks. Assuredly the first step is to make them known. For this purpose, though many might ridicule, and others might frown, I wish the husbandman might repeat them at his plough; the weaver sing them at his loom; the traveller beguile the tediousness of the way by the entertainment of their stories, and the general discourse of all Christians be concerning them, since what we are in ourselves, such we almost constantly are in our common conversation."*

* This extract is taken from the preface to the first edition to the Greek New Testament of Erasmus, published in 1516, after the invention of printing, though it was not then printed.

In the year 1571, Queen Elizabeth provided a printing press, and a fount of Irish types. Mr. Kearney is mentioned as the individual who first used them, in the printing of an Irish catechism and primer. Nicholas Walsh aided him in this work, and was engaged in translating the New Testament into the Irish language, when he was stabbed in his own house, on the 14th of December, 1585.

Eight years before this, Nicholas Walsh had been made Bishop of Ossory. His being cruelly murdered did not put a stop to the translation of the scriptures. He and Kearney had obtained an order that the prayers of the church should be printed in the Irish language, and that a church should be set apart in the chief town of every diocese, in which they were to be read, and a sermon preached to the common people. This was not the first attempt: Nehemias Dunallan, a native of Galway, had helped forward this important work. These three men had been educated at Cambridge. They prepared the way for a fourth, William O'Donnel, who was assisted by Mortogh O'Cionga.

This translation of the New Testament was scrupulously made from the Greek. It was published in March, 1603, and dedicated to King James the First.

The Book of Common Prayer was translated by O'Donell, with the exception of the Psalms, and published in quarto, at his own expense, in 1608. He was translated, soon afterwards, to the see of Tuam, where he ended his days, in 1628.

The translation of the Old Testament into the Irish language, was effected by an Englishman, William

Bedell, who has been called the Tyndal of Ireland, as Fitz-Ralph was regarded the Wickliffe of Ireland.

Southey, in his "Life of Wesley," page 256, has given the following condensed statement from Camden, Spenser, &c.

"When Ireland was called the Island of Saints, and men went forth from its monasteries to be the missionaries, not of monachism alone, but of literature and civilization, the mass of the people continued savage, and worse than heathen. They accommodated their new religion to their own propensities, with a perverted ingenuity, at once humorous and detestable, and altogether peculiar to themselves. Thus, when a child was immersed at baptism, it was customary not to dip the right arm, to the intent that he might strike a more deadly and ungracious blow therewith; and under an opinion, no doubt, that the rest of the body would not be responsible at the resurrection, for any thing committed by the unbaptized hand. Thus, too, at the baptism, the father took the wolves for his gossips; and thought that, by this profanation, he was forming an alliance both for himself and the boy, with the fiercest beasts of the woods. The son of a chief was baptized in milk; water was not thought good enough, and whiskey had not been invented. They used to rob in the beginning of the year, as a point of devotion, for the purpose of laying up a good stock of plunder against Easter; and he, whose spoils enabled him to furnish the best entertainment at that time, was looked upon as the best Christian: so they robbed in emulation of each other; and reconciling their habits to their conscience,

with a hardihood beyond that of the boldest casuists, persuaded themselves that, if robbery, murder, &c., had been sins, Providence would never put such temptations in their way; nay, that the sin would be, if they were so ungrateful as not to take advantage of a good opportunity, when it was offered them."

Camden says, "They account it no shame or infamy to commit robberies, which they practice everywhere with exceeding cruelty. When they go to rob, they pour out their prayers to God, that they may meet with a booty; and they suppose that it is sent to them from God as his gift. They are persuaded that manslaughter and other violences do not displease God. Moreover, they say, that they walk in their father's steps; that they inherit this manner of life; and that it were a disparagement of their nobility to forbear from such deeds and get their living by the labour of their hands.

"In war they use the bagpipe, instead of a trumpet, and carry amulets about them.

"When a person is near to death, certain women, hired to lament, stand at the joining of cross-roads, and spreading out their hands, call on the dying man with certain outcries fitted for the *nonce*; and, as if they would stay the soul as it laboured to free itself from the body, recount all his worldly wealth and enjoyments. They tell him of his wife, of his personal beauty, of his fame, of his kinsfolks, his friends, his horses. They then demand of him, why he will depart; and whither; and to whom he is going? They expostulate with the soul, accusing it of unthankfulness; and tell it, with piteous wailing, that it is now

about to leave the body to go to haggish women, who appear by night and in darkness. After death, the caoine (elsewhere described) takes place, with clapping of hands.”*

* Camden.

CHAPTER XIII.

State of Religion—Act of Oblivion and Indemnity—The last Act of Lord Mountjoy's Administration—Sir George Carew, Deputy—Titles conferred by the King—Improved State of the Country—Another Rebellion threatened—Culmore taken by O'Dogherty—His Death terminates the Insurrection—Improvement in the Government—Establishment of Settlers in Ulster by the London Company—Dissensions on Religion—Discontent at the Announcement of a Parliament to be Convened—Meeting of Parliament after a lapse of Twenty-seven Years—Favour to Roman Catholics—Their Animosity to Protestants—Disputes between them—Parliament Prorogued—First Catholic Rent—Prohibited by Proclamation—James's Reception of the Delegates—Convocation of the Clergy—Sir Oliver St. John appointed Deputy—Resigns his Government—Baronets Instituted—Defective State of the Army—Troops levied for Spain—Discontents produced from an unfair Distribution of Lands—Death of James I.

THE war was at an end, but not so its disastrous consequences; a grievous famine succeeded. It was not devotion to any church, nor zeal for religion, as has been asserted, which brought these calamities upon Ireland. The people were, in fact, ignorant and careless on the subject, as writers of their own times relate. The Earl of Desmond confessed his indifference, and

want of instruction, at the same time declaring his willingness to embrace any mode of worship prescribed by the English government. The Earl of Tyrone's real sentiments were so well known, that when he spoke of religion to the Earl of Essex, that nobleman answered, "Hang thee! Thou talk of a free exercise of religion? Thou carest as much for religion as my horse!"*

The soldiers of O'Neil, on their march from the north, robbed and spoiled the monasteries of Timnalogue and Kilcrea, and profaned other churches."† According to the statement of Lord Mountjoy, the Spaniards held the Irish in contempt on this account; "and," he says, "the distaste which the Irish had of them, were not to be believed by any but those who were present to see their behaviours, and hear their speeches." A Spanish officer expressed his conviction, "that Christ did not die for the Irish."‡

Sir George Carew, in a letter to Secretary Cecil, says, "The common opinion received, and by the rebels published, to be the principal motive of their late and former rebellions, since her majesty's reign, is supposed to be religion. But therein let no man be deceived; for ambition only, is the true and undoubted cause that moves the rebels, and others of the realm to take arms, though the English race and the Irish have different ends. The English, to recover again the supreme government in bearing her majesty's sword by one of

* Moryson. Leland.

† *Theatre of Catholic and Protestant Religion.*

‡ Moryson, 187, *Pacata Hibernia.*

themselves, as for many years and ages they have done, and generally striving to have the captaincies of their countries like the palatines, in their own hands; not admitting of sheriffs, or other officers of justice, to overlook them, or restrain their barbarous extortions. Thus far only, the ambition of the English reacheth; for to be subjects to any other prince than her majesty, or her successors, no man can think them so sottish as to desire it; and to be in any other quality than the state of a subject, they cannot be so foolish as to propound any hope. But the Irish rebels aim at a higher mark; still retaining in memory that their ancestors have been monarchs, and provincial kings of this land; and, therefore, to recover their former greatness, they kick at the government, and enter into rebellion; losing no time of advantage, nor refusing the least foreign aid, that, by troubling the state, may advance their desires, hoping, in time, by strong hand, to regain the crown of Ireland to themselves. These several ambitious swellings in the hearts of the English and Irish rebels, are the true grounds of their continual rebellions; and to draw multitudes of the meaner sort of this kingdom unto them, they mask their ambition with religion, making the same their stalking-horse to allure the vulgar to crown their fortunes."

It is remarkable, that "there is no period in our Irish annals at which bigotry had less influence upon the Roman Catholics, than during the reign of Elizabeth. Romish noblemen attended the viceroy to Christ Church, the parish churches were frequented by Romanists; officers of that persuasion, civil, military, and municipal,

took the oath of supremacy. Romish soldiers, regardless of papal denunciations, fought gallantly against men of their own communion in defence of a woman whom the Pope of Rome had devoted to perdition.

“In the beginning of Queen Elizabeth’s reign, the Roman Catholics, universally, throughout England, observed the act of uniformity, and went to their parish churches where the English liturgy was constantly used. They continued doing so for eleven years, till Pope Pius V. issued his famous bull by which he excommunicated Elizabeth, and absolved her subjects from their allegiance. He had, in a letter to her before, offered to allow this liturgy, *as not contrary to truth*.

Upon this extravagance of the papal power, some few of the leading men withdrew from the public churches; but still the Roman catholics, in general, continued to frequent them until after the twentieth year of the queen, when Campian, and other jesuits, being sent into England, laboured all they could to engage them not to resort thither for worship.”*

From the vain supposition that the death of Queen Elizabeth would give more freedom to their religion, the popish party, in several cities of Leinster and Munster, made an attempt to restore their worship, with all its ceremonies. “Disdaining to confine their devotions any longer to privacy and retirement, they ejected the reformed ministers from their churches; they seized those religious houses which had been converted to civil uses; they erected their crosses; they celebrated

* Carte’s *Life of Ormond*, i. 32.

their masses pompously and publicly; and their ecclesiastics were seen walking in procession, clothed in the habits of their respective orders."

Lord Mountjoy marched with a strong military force into Munster, and found that, by order of the magistrates, the gates of Waterford were closed against him; the reason alleged was, that the citizens * had received a charter from King John, which exempted them from quartering soldiers. On this occasion they sent two ecclesiastics, Dr. White and a young Dominican friar, with a protestation that they could not conscientiously obey any persecutor of the Roman catholic faith. The appearance of the messengers in the camp, carrying a crucifix, and wearing, the one a black gown and cornered cap, the other clothed in a white woollen frock, exasperated the soldiers, who could scarcely be restrained from offering them some outrage. A polemic disputation ensued between the viceroy and the doctor. The latter was answered in a manner he did not expect. Lord Mountjoy "most learnedly confuted" his arguments; and when in support of them, White quoted a passage from St. Austin,—Mountjoy, producing the book itself, showed to all present, how falsely his antagonist had quoted,—"which confused the priest, and shamed the citizens." †

In answer to the privilege they pleaded of their charter, the viceroy said, that he would "*draw the*

* At the accession of James, the recusant citizens of Waterford committed great excesses :—pulling down their recorder from the market-cross, as he read the proclamation, &c., &c.—*Phelan*.

† *Moryson*, book iii. c. ii. p. 336.

sword of King James to cut to pieces the charter of King John,”—adding, that he would “level their city to the ground, and strew it with salt.”

This threat produced the desired effect: the gates were thrown open, the oath of allegiance taken, and all foreign jurisdiction abjured.

Cashel, Clonmel, and Limerick, in like manner submitted. Cork, for having refused to proclaim King James, was invested as a rebellious city by the royal army, and did not yield until Lord Mountjoy advanced before its gates, which were thrown open to admit him.*

1604. Leland says, by the suppression of rebellion, the minds of men were broken to obedience: but, because they had incurred the penalties of the law, to secure them from its severities, and allay their apprehensions, an ACT OF OBLIVION AND INDEMNITY was published by proclamation, under the great seal. This was the last act of Lord Mountjoy's administration.

By this act, all offences against the crown, and all particular trespasses between subject and subject, were pardoned, remitted, and utterly extinguished, never to be revived or called in question, to all such as would come in to the justices of assize by a certain day, and claim the benefit of the Act of Oblivion and Indemnity.

“By the same proclamation, all the Irishry who had hitherto received no defence or protection from the crown, having been entirely subjected to their respective chieftains, were admitted into his majesty's immediate protection.” Sir John Davis says, “This bred such

* Leland.

comfort and security in the hearts of all men, as there-upon ensued the calmest and most universal peace that ever was seen in Ireland." "So true has it been, at all times," Plowden remarks, "that mildness and liberality towards the Irish have ever been requited with their submissiveness, fidelity, and attachment."

Sir John Davis further asserts, "that in time of peace, the Irish are more fearful to offend the law, than the English, or any other nation whatsoever. . . In which condition of subject, they will gladly continue without defection, or adhering to any other *lord* or *king*, as long as they may be *protected and justly governed*, without *oppression* on the one side, or *impunity* on the other.—For there is no nation of people under the sunne, that doth love equal and indifferent justice better than the Irish: or will rest better satisfied with the execution thereof, though it be against themselves; so as they may have the benefit and protection of the law, when, upon just causes, they do desire it."

Lord Mountjoy was constituted Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, with permission to appoint Sir George Carew his deputy, which gave him liberty to return to England. He was accompanied by the Earl of Tyrone and Roderic O'Donnel, both of whom were graciously received by King James. He confirmed to O'Neil his title and possessions, and created O'Donnel Earl of Tyrconnel. He was the brother of Hugh, the rebel, who died in Spain. King James, by letters patent, conferred the honour, title, and estate, of Earl Tyrconnel, upon this man, who followed the example of his predecessor, in treasonable practices against the king,

who had exalted him, for which he was compelled to fly the country. He died, at Rome, in 1607.*

At this time, the Irish injudiciously “presented a petition to the throne, for a free and public toleration of the Romish worship.† It determined the king to behave with more reserve to the Irish lords, and to be less lavish of his professions of grace.” ‡

The king’s proclamation, dated the 4th of July, 1605, is very decided. “Whereas his majesty was informed, that his subjects of Ireland had been deceived by a false report, that his majesty was disposed to allow them liberty of conscience, and the free choice of a religion, contrary to that which he had always professed himself; by which means it has happened, that many of his subjects, of that kingdom, had firmly resolved to remain constantly in that religion: wherefore he declared to all his subjects of Ireland, that he would not admit any such liberty of conscience as they were made to expect by that report.” Furthermore, he enjoined all and each of his subjects, for the time to come, to frequent their respective churches and chapels, and to comply minutely with all the requisitions of the Act of Uniformity, &c. &c.

* Camden.

† Robertson, in his *History of Scotland*, tells us, that “it was part of James’s policy, in order to pave the way to his succession, to waste the vigour of the state of England, by some insensible, yet powerful means;—he had his agents in Ireland, fomenting Tyrone’s war (the Scots daily carrying munition to the rebels) in Ulster:—so that the queen was driven to a considerable expense in carrying it on, and her enemies still encouraged by James’s secret assistance and promises.”

‡ Cox’s MSS., Lambeth.

In consequence of the proclamation, certain commissions were issued, by which Romanists of condition were appointed to watch and inform against those of their own persuasion, who did not frequent the Protestant churches, by neglect of which, they were subjected to fine and imprisonment.*

“Eighteen of the most eminent of the city were summoned to the court of Castle Chamber, of whom, nine of the chief were censured, and six of the aldermen fined each £100, and the other three £50 each : they were all committed prisoners to the castle during the pleasure of the court, and it was ordered that none of the citizens should bear office till they conformed. The week following, the rest were censured in the same manner, except Alderman Archer, who conformed. Their fines were allotted to the repairs of such churches as had been damaged by the accidental blowing-up of the magazine of gunpowder, in 1596; to relieving poor scholars, and to other charitable uses.”†

The old families of the Pale remonstrated against these proceedings as illegal and unconstitutional. The remonstrance was presented to the council by a number of petitioners, who were committed to gaol; their chief agent, Sir Patrick Barnewall, by the King's command, was soon after sent over to England in custody, and committed to the Tower of London ‡

A bull was issued by Pope Clement IX., which enjoined the Roman Catholics *to keep out the Scotch*

* *Anal. Sacr.*, p. 25.

† *Harris's History of Dublin*, p. 323.

‡ Plowden.

heretic, unless he could reconcile himself to Rome, and hold his crown of the papacy.

This incensed King James, who, being already alarmed at the discovery of the gunpowder plot, enacted severer laws against recusants; and the jesuits, supported by the court of Rome, getting the better of the secular priests, the papists universally withdrew from the parish churches in England. The case was much the same in Ireland.*

“Carte and Leland concur in stating, that the legal fine of a shilling a week (equivalent to ninepence English), was levied in no part of Ireland, except in the county of Dublin, on those who absented themselves from the reformed worship. That county was selected for a more rigorous execution of the statute, ‘because the eyes of the whole kingdom were upon it, waiting to see what course the inhabitants would take.’” Leland further states, “However the foreign clergy and popish emissaries might have encouraged the people to repine at the penal laws, yet it is certain, and acknowledged by writers of the Roman communion, when it serves the purposes of argument, that these laws were not executed with rigour, in the reign of Elizabeth.” †

Sir George Carew’s administration was short, but beneficial. He restored the country to such a state of tranquility, as it had not, for a long period, enjoyed. Sheriffs were sent into the counties of Tyrone and Tyrconnel; and judges were appointed to inspect the whole province of Ulster. Sir John Davis, who was one of

* *Life of Ormond.*

† Leland, ii. 381.

the judges, says, "which visitation, though it were somewhat distasteful to the Irish lords, was most welcome to the common people: who, albeit they were rude and barbarous, yet did they quickly apprehend the difference between the tyranny and oppression under which they had lived before, and the just government and protection which we promised unto them for the time to come."

Sir Arthur Chichester, who succeeded Carew, pursued the same plan of general reformation. And Sir John Davis's "Reports" prove, that King James did more for the reformation of Ireland in nine years, and made greater advances in that work, than had been produced in the four hundred and forty preceding years.*

The old Irish customs of gavelkind and tanistry were abolished, by judgment, in the King's Bench, and the Irish estates were made hereditary according to the law of England; and by a commission of grace, as it was called, issued under the great seal of England, James secured his Irish subjects against all claims of the crown.†

Other wise and efficient regulations were made to establish peace and prosperity throughout the realm. Building, planting, and commerce, rapidly progressed; and civilization made considerable advances.

But government was still kept in a state of alarm. A letter, dropped in the privy-council-chamber, gave intimation of another rebellion, planned by the Earls of Tyrone, Tyrconnel, and other northern malcontents, who

* Hume.

† Leland.

had solicited Spain and Brussels for aid. Their first attack was to have been on the castle of Dublin: they intended to take it by surprise, and assassinate the lord-deputy and council.

On hearing that their schemes were discovered, they fled to the continent, leaving their possessions to be disposed of by the crown. According to the course of common law, the two earls were attainted, while some of the other conspirators were seized, tried, condemned, and executed.

About this time, 1608, a serious insurrection burst forth. Sir Henry Docwra, who had left a powerful English garrison at Lough Foyle, committed the government of Derry to Sir George Paulet, and that of Culmore, in its vicinity, to Hart, a valiant English officer. Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, the neighbouring chieftain, and proprietor of Innishowen, thought he could bid defiance to the English power and government. He made advances to Hart, as if wishing to live on friendly terms, and prevailed on him to partake of an entertainment at his house. While sitting, unguarded and unsuspecting with his host, a band of ruffians burst into the chamber, seized upon the English officer, and held their weapons to his throat, while O'Dogherty threatened him with immediate death if he did not deliver up the fort of Culmore. Hart, resolutely refusing to betray his trust, the sudden entrance of both their wives put a stop to the execution.*

Mrs. Hart, finding that her husband was to be de-

* Cox, ex MS., Lambeth. Leland.

tained a prisoner, and knowing that he would yield up his life rather than his fort, suffered herself to be led, by O'Dogherty, to Culmore,—and, by a fictitious statement, she procured his admittance, with his ferocious band. The consequence was, the immediate slaughter of the whole garrison, including Mrs. Hart's brother:—her own life, and that of her husband, was spared.

O'Dogherty met with little resistance at Derry, and the garrison, with the commanding officer, were put to the sword. The town was plundered and burned.

The insurgents, on their way to attack other garrisoned towns, having heard of the approach of Field-Marshal Wingfield, with a strong force, hastened back to Culmore; and having set fire to the fortress, they retreated into the woods, from whence they issued, occasionally, in parties, harassing the troops, without venturing on an open attack. At length a random shot mortally wounded the rebel chieftain, and, by the dispersion of his followers, the insurrection, which had lasted five months, was at an end.

The lord-deputy had marched, with his troops, to aid Wingfield.

The forfeited lands of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel,—the estates of Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, and of several of their adherents, comprised nearly the whole six northern counties of Cavan, Fermanagh, Armagh, Derry, Tyrone, and Tyrconnel (now Donegal). The forfeited lands were computed to comprise five hundred and eleven thousand, four hundred and fifty-six Irish acres.

This entire tract of country was covered with woods, and infested by robbers. The plan formed by James

for the cultivation and civilization of this district, does him honour. The lord-deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester, was of infinite service on this occasion, being a man of great capacity, and thoroughly acquainted with the country, and the state of its inhabitants.

The authority of the chieftains and tanists had been absolute:—exactions, dues, and assessments, were levied at pleasure, for which there was no fixed law. Hence arose a common bye-word among the Irish, "*That they dwelt westward of the law, which dwelt beyond the river Barrow,*"—meaning the country inhabited by the English, which lay in the neighbourhood of Dublin, and did not exceed the compass of twenty miles.

After James had abolished these customs, he established English law, and took the natives under his protection; and having declared them free citizens, he proceeded to govern them by a regular administration, military and civil.*

A company was established in London, for planting new colonies in Ulster. The property was divided into shares not exceeding two thousand acres, and not less than one thousand. Tenants were brought from England and Scotland. These were called new undertakers, and were enjoined to let their lands to their countrymen only.

The new undertakers were settled in the strongest and most commanding positions. To the old natives, the open country was allotted, where they were under the inspection of their neighbours. This plan differed

* Sir John Davis, quoted by Hume.

from that of the original English settlers, who had chosen beautiful situations, in the best grounds for their habitations.

An annual rent was reserved for the crown from all the recent tenements. The British undertakers were to pay six shillings and eightpence for every sixty acres. The proprietors were bound to perform several stipulations, tending to the security, civilization, and improvement of the country and natives.* Their lands were to be let at stated rents on leases for three lives, or twenty-one years at least.

The undertakers received great encouragement from the corporation of London, which accepted of large grants on the lower part of the river Ban, in the county of Derry, and entered into an engagement to expend £20,000 on the plantation of them; to build Coleraine; and to rebuild and enlarge the city of Derry, which was now called Londonderry. Great advantages were expected from the exertions of such a respectable body of men.

A number of loyal and industrious inhabitants became located in these northern districts, to the great improvement of the country, where many towns were erected, several of which the king was pleased to incorporate, so as to give them a right of representation in the Irish parliament.†

In the distribution of lands, the claims of the clergy were not neglected. Ecclesiastical lands were restored to their respective sees and churches. Bishops were

* Leland.

† Leland. Gordon.

compelled to resign the tithes which they had received as inappropriate, to the incumbents of the several parishes, for which they were amply compensated from the king's land. The allotment of land to each undertaker, was made a parish with a church; and glebes were assigned to the incumbents, from sixty to one hundred and twenty acres, beside their tithes and duties. Free schools were endowed in the principal towns, and large grants of land were made to the University of Dublin. King James vested Sir Arthur Chichester with the territory of Innishowen, and all the possessions of O'Dogherty, as a mark of his approbation of the plans which he had proposed for the reformation of the Irish, and which had already made great progress. But religious rancour still existed. Leland justly observes, "Men, whose religious principles expose them to grievous disadvantages in society, are particularly bound to examine those principles with care and accuracy, lest they sacrifice the interests of themselves and their posterity to an illusion." Popery admits of no such investigation: it requires a blind acquiescence in all it enjoins. Religious strife is productive of evil beyond all other strife, as being most contrary to Christian humility and forbearance. It widened the separation between the Romanists and protestants by an increase of their mutual jealousies.

The announcement of a parliament to be convened, excited the apprehensions of many who had refused to conform to the protestant faith. A petition was presented to the king, signed by six of the principal lords of the English Pale:—Gormanston, Slane, Killeen,

Trimbleston, Dunsany, and Louth.—They boldly expressed their discontent that a parliament should be convened, without any previous communication to them of the laws therein to be enacted, &c.

The terms in which they addressed the king were so disrespectful that he pronounced it to be rash and insolent.

There had been no meeting of parliament in Ireland for twenty-seven years when James convened one: which, he said, was necessary “to support the arrangement lately made (the plantation of Ulster); to remove real grievances; to repress causeless discontents; and to secure the administration against all attempts of turbulence and disaffection.” *

In the king’s speech to the parliament, at Whitehall, in 1609, he says, “As for Ireland, ye all well know how uncertain my charges are ever there—that people being so easily stirred, partly through the barbarity and want of civilitie, and partly through their corruption in religion, to break foorth in rebellions. And I dare not suffer the same (*i. e.* the army) to be diminished, till this plantation take effect, which (no doubt) is the greatest moate that ever came in the rebel’s eyes: and it is to be looked for, if ever they will be able to make anie stirre, they will presse it, by all meanes, for the preventing and discouraging the plantation.”

The meeting of parliament caused much anxiety and expectation. It was the first national parliament, representative of the whole kingdom; the most numerous

* Leland.

that had ever been known in Ireland. Seventeen new counties, and a great number of boroughs had been formed. Before this time, the parliament were representative but of part of the kingdom. Two hundred and thirty-two members were returned for the House of Commons—six of whom were absent. The protestants were one hundred and twenty-five,—the recusants one hundred and one. The Lords were sixteen temporal barons, twenty-five protestant prelates, five viscounts, and four earls.

By a statute enacted in the second year of Elizabeth, the oath of supremacy qualified all who took it to obtain civic rights and offices. The Roman catholics, as a body, had little to look for that they could not obtain by a respectful demeanour towards government.

The doors of both houses of parliament lay wide open: “nor had the more aspiring been driven to purchase admissibility by betraying the rights of their humbler compatriots. By a tenure, which was more precarious, only because it depended more upon themselves, they were sheriffs of cities and counties, justices of the peace, and aldermen of corporations; they practised at the bar, held commissions in the army and places about the court, and were occasionally admitted to the privy council;” and afterwards, without any change in the law, we find some generals among the Roman catholics of Ireland, and one lord-deputy. For some years, no scruples were expressed about taking the oath of supremacy: nor does it appear that the members of the Church of Rome were ever visited with any spiritual censure for their compliance.

By a conciliating conduct, it was always in their power to raise themselves to an equality with the most favoured class of subjects; and the whole nation enjoyed the undisturbed exercise of their religion, as long as its ministers abstained from political intrigue, “and from that obtrusive pomp of celebration, which, if not offensive to protestant conscience, was, at least, an unseemly rivalry with the established church.”

We find from Lord Clarendon’s statement, that, “Even in Dublin they went as publicly and uninterruptedly to their devotions as he went to his. The bishops, priests, and all degrees and orders of secular and regular clergy, were known to be, and to exercise their functions among them; and though there were some laws against them still in force, which necessity, and the wisdom of former ages, had caused to be enacted, and the policy of the present times kept unrepealed, yet their edge was so totally rebutted, that no man could say he had suffered prejudice or disturbance in, or for, his religion.” *

1613. Routh, a titular bishop, says, “From the time of proposing the oath, the measures of the catholics were conducted in secrecy, until the assembling of a parliament gave them a fresh opportunity of displaying the ardour of their faith and zeal.” †

The Milesian race, the old English, and the new settlers, were now to meet in parliament, as they never had before, upon the common footing of British sub-

* *Historical View.* 6.

† *Analecta Sacra.*

jects. James's policy in this was extolled,—yet it enlarged the power of the prelates to such a degree, as nearly to subvert all good government and national freedom.

Sir John Davis says, “The Irishry, who, in former times were left under the tyranny of their lords and chiefs, were received into his majesty's immediate protection. Our visitation of the shires, how distasteful soever to the Irish lords, was sweet and most welcome to the common people; they were now taught that they were free subjects to the king, not slaves and vassals to their pretended lords, whose extortions were unlawful, and that they should not any more submit thereunto. They gave a willing ear unto these lessons; and so the greatness and power of these Irish lords over the people, suddenly fell and vanished.”

Another writer, in reference to these times, observes, —“It is evident that until of late, the old English Pale despised the mere Irish, accounting them to be a barbarous people, void of civility *and religion*,—and each of them held the other as a hereditary enemy; and so it would have continued many years to come, had not these latter times produced a change.” *

Many of the prelates, who were suddenly invested with a dominion over the populace, which their order had incessantly struggled for in vain, were men of talents, Anglo-Irish, of respectable family, and entirely devoted to the papal interest. Their advancement had been obnoxious to the old Irish, but, by the powerful

* *Discourse of Ireland. Desiderata Curiosa. Vol. i.*

operation of a counter-passion, they tried to neutralise former antipathies.

A contemporary writer, Father Walsh, says, "It is known by experience, that one prelate or churchman of the old English stock, hath been heretofore, and is at present, more able to work the laity, of the same extraction, to traitorous designs, than a whole hundred of the other."

A spirit of fanaticism was diffused through the country; and rage against protestantism, which they called heresy, swallowed up all former causes of dissension, and all acknowledged difference of the English and Irish races. The agency of miracles, prophecies, pastoral addresses, was set to work,—together with the animating expectation of O'Neil's return from the court of Spain, where he had been a pensioner and exile for some years.

When the meeting of the first national parliament was announced, the aristocracy of the Pale sent their agents into all parts, to solicit freeholders of the higher rank, while priests and lawyers were equally assiduous among the lower orders. Oaths of association were taken; promises and threats were held forth; blessings and anathemas were added, and hopes founded upon ancient prophecies, that if they were true to the church, the yoke of heresy would be taken off. Their cause, they declared, was the cause of God; and to support any who attended the reformed worship, they pronounced a mortal sin. "To hear the devil's word," was (according to O'Sullivan's "Catholic History,") the phrase of the time, applied to the very same liturgy

which Pope Pius V. would have sanctioned forty years before.

The newly enfranchised boroughs were nearly all in the hands of the protestants. Parliament met on the 18th of May. The recusant members had set out in triumphant procession, followed by men, women, and children, with shouts of tumultuous greeting, and admonitions to take care of the catholic faith. Priests crowded to Dublin from all parts of the country, to animate and direct the exertions of their representatives.

“As they passed on, the contagion of enthusiasm added incessantly to their cavalcade, and they made their entry into the capital at the head of troops of armed retainers.” “In the upper house, the transfer of the episcopal peerages, the extinction of mitred abbots, the absence of Tyrone, and other disaffected lords (as the titular Bishop Burke feelingly observes), left the recusants in a hopeless minority.” In the lower house, the parties were nearly equal. Their first business was to choose a speaker. There were two competitors; Sir John Davis, the attorney-general, on one side, Sir John Everard, a recusant knight, and lawyer, on the other. He had been a judge, but when the oath of supremacy was pressed upon him, for some reason, he had retired on a moderate pension. In those days it was the custom that a division should be effected, by the retiring of one of the parties to an ante-chamber; the protestants unguardedly did so. Roman catholic writers state, that as soon as they were withdrawn a zealous member of the popish party thus addressed the

meeting: —“They are gone, ill betide them; and they have left us, as it is our right to be, in possession of this house. Wherefore, seeing that we have prospered thus far, we ought thankfully to pursue the course which God seems to have pointed out, by setting up here that holy faith, for which, if necessary, we should be ready to die. We are encouraged to this by the example of our fathers and kinsmen, who fighting for the catholic faith, obtained an honourable death, and a glorious immortality. Should it be our lot so to perish, we shall be at least their equals in renown; but if we avoid their indiscretions, higher fame and happier fortune will attend us. Nor is there reason to apprehend, that, in so doing, we shall trespass ought against the king's majesty: seeing that the same should be his especial care, and that nothing is more necessary, either for his soul's salvation, or the righteous ruling of his kingdoms. Come then, let us maintain that religion, for which it is honourable to fight, and seemly to die, and which to exalt is the highest glory of man. First of all, let us choose for ourselves a speaker and leader.*”

Immediately Everard was installed as speaker. The protestants, after having ascertained that they had twenty-one voices majority, returned into the house, and were much astonished to find Everard in the speaker's chair. A violent struggle ensued; the pro-

* Burke, *Hibernia Dominicana*. Routh, and Dominic O'Daly, quoted. Burke's Latin is literally translated, and gives the *sentiments* of the titular bishop, if not the language.—*Phelim's Church of Rome in Ireland*.

testants were vehement in trying to force him from it, the papists resolute in detaining him; at length Sir John Davis was seated in his lap—and if the viceroy had not taken the wise precaution, which etiquette required, that the members should leave their swords at the outer door, the senate-house would have been a scene of blood. At length the recusants were worsted; the chair was left to Davis, and the house to the protestants.

The recusant members finding that they had over-rated their strength, deliberated on the expediency of a formal secession. The prelates, for many reasons, urged them to adopt this measure; they were labouring to organize an interior government, to which it would give brilliancy and, in some sort, a constitutional form, and it would accustom the Roman catholics to consider themselves as a distinct society in political, as well as religious matters.

The following Friday was fixed on for a full meeting of both houses, for the purpose of hearing the speech from the throne—it had been notified to each of the recusant peers by a special messenger: the commoners were summoned by a privy counsellor, who waited on them at the place where they had assembled for consultation. He was answered by Everard, in the name of all present, “that as parliament sat in the castle, where the freedom of debate and action was over-awed by an armed guard, the catholics would not make their appearance: that, for himself, he had been duly elected speaker, and that he could not attend his excellency except in that capacity, accompanied by *his* members,

and preceded by the mace." The next day, the commoners were joined by the lords of the Pale and some other noblemen, all of whom united into one association for the prosecution of the common cause. They brought forward their complaints, and protested against the place chosen for the sittings of parliament; against the lord-deputy's guard of a hundred foot; against the election of the speaker; against the return of some of the members; against the creation of some of the new shires, and more particularly, of the new boroughs; and against the authority of the viceroy to call a parliament. They declared these to be "strange and grievous courses;" "extremities, such as had never been heard of, and could not be believed;" they said, "their indignation was just and pious;" they refused to give the name of a parliament to the assemblies which might be held during their secession; and added, that if any laws were made without their concurrence, the people would reject them. Hints were thrown out that they might, if opposed, rise in arms, cut the throats of the protestants, besiege the lord-deputy in his castle, and compel him by force or famine to sue for peace.

These menaces were alarming at this time, when one thousand nine hundred and seventy men, cavalry and infantry, composed the whole of the royal army of Ireland. The recusant senators, with their friends and retainers from the country, were all provided with arms, and the Roman catholics in the city, men, youths, and boys, were all infected with the same military ardour and zeal for religion. To allay the threatened com-

motion, and gain time for consultation with the English cabinet, the viceroy prorogued the parliament.

Upon the first assembling of parliament, the malcontents had petitioned the king for permission to lay their grievances in person before his majesty. They received, in return, a command to come and answer for their desertion of their parliamentary duties. Accordingly, a deputation was formed of eight peers, about twice as many members of the lower house, and a train of legal advisers. A public revenue being required for the support of this mission, and for the furtherance of other objects, the first catholic rent was imposed—the collection of which was entrusted to the priests and lawyers. It included three rates ;* 5*s.* for a gentleman; 2*s.* for a yeoman; and 4*d.* for a peasant. The assessment to be enforced, if necessary, by spiritual censures. No limits were assigned to the voluntary offerings of the wealthy or the devout; and such was the munificent zeal of the time, that a friar obtained from his rustic congregation, in one day, two hundred cows and horses.

The following article is taken from the “*Desiderata Curiosa*.” “Upon a Sunday, about the end of May last, he was at mass at the Glynn, where Turlough Mac Crodden, a fryer there, lately come from beyond seas, said the mass, and was preaching most part of the same day; and, in his sermon, he declared that he was sent from the pope to persuade them that they

* “The higher rates are given by Cox, from some MS. depositions preserved in the Lambeth library.”

should never alter their religion, but take the pope to be their true head, and rather go into rebellion than change their religion; and that the English service proceeded from the seducement of the devil. Upon these speeches uttered by the fryer, Neal Mac Turlogh spake aloud, saying, God be thanked that we heard this mass: God be blessed that such a one as you came among us to give us this counsel; for our parts we will go into rebellion, and be eaten with dogs and cats, rather than go to the English service to hear the devil's words. And Shane Roe O'Quin said the very same words after him. And the fryer had, at that day, given him at least two hundred cows and garrons. The fryer further told them that the parliament was coming, and that it was a thing invented on purpose to cozen them and bring them from their religion. He said, that there was certain money imposed for the expenses of men gone into England for the cause of religion, and for the charges of the knights of the shire, 4*d*. for every couple. He exhorted them to pay it willingly and speedily; it was God's business they went about. He told them that the cattle they had given him was for the maintenance of fryers beyond seas, and that the pope would be highly pleased with the gifts they bestowed for godly purposes. He vehemently exhorted them not to be afraid, for that Tyrone was coming; therefore he willed them to be merry and of good courage; for the English were to have no rule nor power over them, but for two years. And further said, that he found by his reading in books, at Rome, a prophecy, that the English should cease their rule in Ireland, when a

bridge was built over the river at Liffer ; and that the King of Spain had eighteen thousand men in arms ready to come over; and that Tyrone should be their chief: and that he would come within a year and a quarter, and overthrow the English and have Ireland to himself.”*

The viceroy, in order to abolish this newly instituted impost, issued a proclamation.

A Proclamation by the Lord Deputy and Council:—

“ Arthur Chichester.

“ Whereas, we have been advised from many places in this kingdom, that by the device and diligence of sundry Jesuits and popish priests, and by the authority of certain recusant members of parliament, there hath been a general levying of money among the popish recusant subjects of the king’s majesty; and that divers persons have been appointed for the collection of the same: and whereas, this burthen hath been laid upon his majesty’s faithful people, under the pretext of paying the charges of certain nobles and men of quality, lately gone into England; which persons are falsely reported by the said priests and collectors to have gone to supplicate the grace of our sovereign lord the king for a greater freedom of religion, seeing that they have been sent for by the command of our said lord, to answer for their departure from the court of parliament; and whereas, the said priests and collectors have spread this false report that they might extort from the people

* *O’Donnelly’s Depositions.*

a larger sum, the most part whereof it appeareth that they will convert to their own uses: and whereas, it is an unheard of and intolerable arrogance in subjects to impose any tax upon his majesty's people, seeing that even his majesty's self doth not collect a tax without the free consent of the parliament of the realm: and whereas, the king's majesty hath long since, by various proclamations, taken upon himself the protection of all his subjects in this kingdom; we, his majesty's deputy and council, are bound by our place and office, to protect his said subjects, and to free them from this most heavy and unjust tribute, by which it seemeth that their poverty will be much increased. Wherefore, in the name of his most excellent majesty, we declare to all his faithful people, that all such exaction, extortion, or collection, is altogether unjust, and we forbid them to consent to the same, or to pay any sum or sums upon such pretences aforesaid. Likewise, in his majesty's name, we strictly enjoin all persons, appointed, or to be appointed, collectors or receivers of said tax, that they do not presume to collect or receive the same: and that within ten days after the date of this proclamation, they pay back, without fraud or deceit, all such sum or sums unto the persons from whom they have collected them. Otherwise, if any of his majesty's subjects shall complain of such collectors or receivers unto us, the lord deputy or council, or unto the judges of assize within their several circuits, instant means shall be taken for the restoration of said money, and the punishment of persons so offending. Lastly, in the name, and by the authority of his majesty, we

strictly enjoin all mayors, justices of the peace, and all other officers of his majesty, that they cause diligent inquiry to be made concerning all persons, who have been, or shall be, collectors or receivers of said tax, and concerning the sums which they may respectively collect or receive; and that they may inform us of the same with all convenient speed, to the end that all such collectors and receivers may answer at their proper peril. Given at his majesty's castle of Dublin, July 9, 1613."

The delegates were the Lords Gomanstown, Slane, Killeen, Buttevant, Roche, Delvin, Dunboyne, Trimblestown; Sir Walter Butler, Sir Daniel O'Brien, Sir Christopher Nugent, Sir William Burke, Sir Thomas Burke, Sir Patrick Barnwell, Sir James Gough, Sir John Everard; William Talbot, Edward Fitz-Harris, Andrew Barrett, Richard Wadding, James Wadding, James Galway, Thomas Luttrell, Patrick Hussey, and Mac Donough, chief of his name. There were but two Milesians among these. The ancestors of all the rest had hated and despised the Irish—their chief cause of discontent was, that the crown aimed at the abolishment of their oppressive monopoly.

The king received them with his usual kindness; and they informed their constituents, that in presenting their expostulations to his princely audience, his majesty was benignly pleased to deliver, that their humble appeal to his sacred person was satisfaction sufficient to expiate the offence that might be proved against them, and that his mercy should qualify the rigour of his justice.

“They presented a memorial containing eighteen charges against the civil government; they entreated that a commission might be appointed under the great seal to examine into the alleged abuses. Their request was granted, four persons were joined in a commission with the lord-deputy.”

“While the king waited for the report of these commissioners he admitted the delegates to several conferences, public and private. He engaged them as a polemic—for he had written a book against the deposing power of the pope. It was, therefore, an interesting topic to him as a sovereign and an author—and scarcely to be avoided in conversing with men who had rejected his *own* oath of allegiance. After many insinuating questions, he drew them into a great difficulty by asking, “whether the heresy of a prince, otherwise sovereign and absolute, forfeited his title, and justified the pope’s interference against him?” Talbot, Luttrell, and some others answered that it did. The two first were the most peremptory—Luttrell was sent to the Fleet prison—and Talbot to the Tower, to close confinement; he was sentenced, by the Star Chamber, to pay a fine of 10,000*l*.

The high tone of the delegates was lowered by these measures; and the report of the commission convinced them of their indiscretion in choosing London as the theatre of their operations: they solicited for the release of Talbot, and that they might be permitted to return home.

The prelates now perceiving that open hostility was unseasonable, veered round into a course of concilia-

tion. "The known intention of government to bring in a bill for the attainder of O'Neil and his fellow exiles, presented to the recusant senators three alternatives; namely, to continue in secession; to resume their seats with the certainty of making a popular and powerful opposition; or to pass at once to the extreme of obsequious concurrence. The question being referred, as its *spiritual* nature demanded, to the judgment of the bishops, they announced the stern expediency of sacrificing the champions of the catholic cause: they were obeyed; the bill was brought in *by Everard*, and passed quietly into a law. We hear but of one dissenting voice, that of O'Sullivan, the titular bishop of Tuam."*

A convocation of the clergy was at this time held in Dublin, in order to draw up a confession of faith for the established church of Ireland. This work was committed to Doctor James Usher, a man of eminent abilities and talent. His formulary, containing a hundred and four articles, was approved by the convention and ratified by the lord-deputy. The king, though not well-pleased with some of the articles, from a sense of justice, promoted Usher to the see of Meath.

The maritime parts of Leinster, between Dublin and Waterford, had for ages been inhabited by powerful Irish septs, whose continual irruptions harassed the

* The above particulars are taken from Phelan's *Church of Rome in Ireland*; and he says, that the narrative is no more than an abridgment of what may be found in the papal writers, O'Sullivan, David Routh (the titular Bishop of Ossory), Porter, Burke, &c.: nothing is stated upon the unsupported authority of a protestant.

English forces. The district which extended from the Avoca, or river of Arklow, to the Slane, including sixty-six thousand acres, upon inquisition was found to be the property of the crown. The part of this property which lay nearest the sea, containing sixteen thousand five hundred acres, was destined for an English colony, and the remainder to be re-granted to the old proprietors, under such regulations and agreements as had been prescribed to the Ulster colonization. In like manner, James distributed three hundred and eighty-five thousand acres in the Queen's and King's Counties, Leitrim, Longford, and Westmeath. But this plan was not completed when Chichester was created Baron of Belfast.

1618. Sir Oliver Saint-John was appointed deputy. He began his administration by a vigorous execution of the penal statutes. The popish regular clergy, who were in general educated in foreign seminaries, were dangerous to the state, and very oppressive to the poorer Romanists.* These men were commanded, by proclamation, to leave the kingdom. All officers of justice were required to take the oath of supremacy. The citizens of Waterford had obstinately persisted in electing recusants for their chief magistrates, not one of whom would take the oath; and as they had, in other particulars, opposed conformity, a commission was issued to seize the liberties and revenues of the city. These and other measures raised a clamour against the governor. He was mis-represented by the Romanists in foreign countries, and finally compelled to resign his govern-

* Cox, ex. MS. Lamb. Leland.

ment. But the king proved the estimation he held him in by creating him Viscount Grandison, Lord High Treasurer of Ireland, and privy counsellor of both kingdoms. Lord Falkland, succeeded Saint-John, in whose removal the Romish party triumphed.

“ Dr. O’Conor, a Roman catholic divine, gives the following specimens of the stories which were circulated on the continent in those days :—‘ Routh says, that the Irish magistrates of this period employed their time in running from street to street, from town to town, from field to field, to find out papists. And yet this silly scribbler asserts that, at the same time, immense sums were levied, in fines, for refusing to attend church, upon those very persons whom it was so difficult to discover. Thus, he states that the fines, *in one term*, amounted, *in the small county* of Cavan alone, to *eight thousand guineas*.’

“ ‘ O’Sullivan declares that St. John levied *six hundred thousand pounds*, in hard cash, from Irish priests, as fines for not attending, on Sundays, in the protestant churches : and yet £600,000 exceeded the annual income of the whole kingdom. He also says, that the same viceroy imprisoned ninety citizens of Dublin, *for denying the king’s supremacy*.’

“ ‘ Burke and Porter relate how one of the privy council, whose name they do not mention, *boasted* that all his plate was composed of chalices. They gravely add, that a protestant bishop converted a priest’s vestment into a pair of breeches—but behold ! he had scarcely put on these breeches, when they caught fire, and he was burned to death ! Such were the stories

by which the Irish rabble were excited to the rebellion of 1641.' ""*

1622. Their numbers, union, and property, rendered them a formidable body in a country ill-supplied with military forces. The king's army in Ireland was reduced to one thousand three hundred and fifty foot, and two hundred cavalry. James had instituted a new hereditary dignity, baronets—to take charge of his plantations: the number not exceeding two hundred. Each one, on obtaining his patent, was to pay such a sum into the exchequer, as would maintain thirty soldiers, in Ulster, for three years, at 8*d.* per day. A sufficient fund might have been thus raised to support six thousand men; yet it seems not to have been appropriated to this purpose, by the great reduction of the army in Ireland, which the state of the king's finances would not admit of his keeping up. The soldiers were treated in such a manner as to unfit them for service; instead of the usual discipline, they were scattered in small parties, cultivating the ground or attending upon their officers in a menial capacity—not regularly paid, but permitted to supply their necessities by force and rapine. The officers were generally men of large fortune and influence, aiding each other in base practices with impunity. This was the military establishment; and it cost the crown £52,500 a-year, which was £16,000 more than the annual revenue of the kingdom.

To rid the country of a number of unoccupied, un-

* *Historical Address*, i. 261.

provided-for, young men, whose activity and turbulence rendered them dangerous to the state, James gave permission to levy troops for the service of Spain. The officers employed on this occasion were the relatives and adherents of former rebels—men attached to the interest of Hugh O'Neil. The levies were soon filled, to the great annoyance and terror of the well-affected; being unmindful of all order, and delaying their departure, they ranged the country, tumultuously spreading discord and disaffection. After many tedious delays they were very slowly embarked—some troops being drawn together to watch their movements, until they were under sail.

Great dissatisfaction arose from the conduct of the commissioners appointed for the distribution of lands. Many of the natives were fraudulently deprived of those which by the king's command had been reserved for them—some received a moiety of their possessions—to others no part was given, nor means of subsistence. "The resentment of such sufferers," Leland says, "was, in some cases, exasperated by finding their lands transferred to hungry adventurers, who had no services to plead; and sometimes, to some who had been rebels and traitors. Neither the actors nor the objects of such grievances were confined to one religion. The most zealous in the service of government, and the most peaceable conformists were involved in the ravages of avarice and rapine, without any distinction of principles or profession." A number of men were employed to find out defective titles, grants of concealed lands, and rents which belonged to the crown. They

were called *discoverers*. They were the chief gainers by these investigations themselves: but a small proportion of concealed property or advance of rent was reserved for the king. This was a grievance which caused much murmuring and discontent. Leland observes, "proofs are not wanting of the most iniquitous practices, of hardened cruelty, of vile perjury, and scandalous subornation employed to despoil the fair and unoffending proprietor of his inheritance."

By the omission of some legal formalities, the whole province of Connanght was found defective, and adjudged to the crown. The proprietors had surrendered their estates in the reign of Elizabeth; but had neglected the enrolment and the reception of their patents. The ceremony being renewed in the thirteenth year of James, their patents received the great seal. Through the neglect of the officers, the enrolment was not made in chancery, although £3,000 had been disbursed for that purpose.

The king's commissioners pronounced the titles defective, and the lands still vested in the crown; and a western plantation was planned similar to that of Ulster. In great alarm, the proprietors offered to pay a fine of £10,000, and to double their annual composition. James listened with attention to these overtures; but his death put a stop to any treaty between them.

CHAPTER XIV.

Bull of Pope Urban VIII.—Protestant Clergy's Declaration—Policy of the King's Ministers—Lords Justices appointed—Lord Wentworth appointed Deputy—Linen Manufacture founded—Woollen Manufacture discouraged—Instances of Lord Wentworth's Tyrannical Government—Improved State of the Country—The King's Affairs more embarrassed; he requires the presence of Wentworth, who bewails his yielding to Popish influence—Secret Excommunication—The Popish Party in Ireland favourable to the King—Their Approbation of Wentworth's Administration—Universal Peace and Prosperity in the Country previous to the Rebellion—Change in the Sentiments of the People—Strafford beheaded—Breaking out of the Rebellion—Attack on the Castle of Lismore—The First Earl of Cork.

1626. POPE URBAN VIII. issued a bull exhorting the Roman catholics to suffer death, rather than take "the wicked and pestilent" oath of supremacy; to which was added, the blasphemous assertion, that by this oath, "the sceptre of the catholic church was wrested from the hand of the vicar of the Almighty."

On the accession of Charles I., the Irish recusants beheld with satisfaction the divisions and controversies which agitated the church of England, believing that

they would favour their own views. They held the penal statutes in contempt, and had no respect for the mild government of Lord Falkland, who was ill qualified to struggle with a faction, which conciliation pampered, and terror only could restrain. "The recusant lords of the Pale were admitted to the privy council, which, by Poyning's law, virtually invested them with the legislative authority. The lawyers and wards in chancery were formally exempted from the oath of supremacy; and a new test was issued, by proclamation, from which every article was excluded that could give offence to the pope, or be a reasonable pledge of fidelity to the crown."*

Representations of approaching intestine disturbance were made to the king, by his council in Ireland, composed of the new English, which convinced him of the necessity of enlarging his Irish forces, in order to secure the kingdom against any attempt from foreign enemies. But the expense attending this augmentation was to be considered; and having no means of supplying it, he had recourse to prerogative, and ordered his army to be quartered on the different towns and counties of Ireland, to be maintained by them in turn, for three months at a time, with a supply of money, clothing, and provisions. In order to reconcile the people to this severe impost, the lord-deputy addressed letters to the several communities, recommending a cheerful submission, and promising that the usual composition should be suspended, and this unusual demand should be amply

* Phelan's *Church of Rome in Ireland*.

remunerated by other grants and favours from the king. The army was increased to five thousand foot and five hundred horse.

A meeting of the principal nobility and gentry was held in the castle of Dublin; the popish party were, by far, the most numerous; they had each objects in view, which, in the hope of attaining, they signified their willingness to contribute to the king's necessities. The protestants wanted to be freed from vexatious investigations into the titles of their estates; the popish party to be extricated from the grievances to which the penal statutes subjected them. Lord Falkland advised them to submit these things to the king's consideration, with a tender of their dutiful services.

The Romanists were so much encouraged by the hope of indulgence, that their arrogance became insupportable. In order to counteract the growing evil, the protestant clergy unanimously signed a protestation, which was called "The Judgment of Diverse of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, concerning Toleration of Religion."

In this protestation, they declare the doctrine of popery to be "superstitious, idolatrous, erroneous, and heretical, to which," say they, "we make ourselves accessory by tolerating it. By contributions of money for its support, 'religion is set to sale, and with it the souls of the people, whom Christ hath redeemed with his blood.' And, as it is a great sin, so it is also a matter of most dangerous consequence; the consideration whereof we commit to the wise and judicious, beseeching the God of truth to make them who are in autho-

rity, zealous of God's glory, and of the advancement of true religion; zealous, resolute, and courageous, against all popery, superstition and idolatry.*"

This protestation had considerable effect (as it is stated in the "Life of Usher") in retarding a project which was absolutely necessary to the king's affairs.

Impelled by these remonstrances, the chief governor issued a proclamation, forbidding the exercise of popish rites, which was, however, intended for nothing more than a mere verbal form.

The policy of the king's ministers was not so much to enlighten and improve the native Irish, as to increase their sovereign's revenues. Instead of abolishing the cruel and barbarous custom of ploughing the ground by means of short ploughs, fastened to the tails of the horses, there was a tax laid of 10s. yearly for each plough. The chief part of this tax, which people complained of as being oppressive, the king's officers contrived to monopolize for themselves. The penalty was therefore taken off, and the abuse referred to another parliament.

After the conference in the castle of Dublin, an offer was made of a voluntary contribution of £120,000, to be paid in three years, £40,000 each year, on condition of receiving certain graces from the king. The offer was accepted, and instructions given to the governor and council to confer the graces which had been solicited.

1629. The recusants, offended at the proclamation which was issued, forbidding the exercise of popish rites, murmured against paying the contribution; where-

* Leland.

upon the king consented to its reduction to half the sum, in quarterly payments.

Lord Falkland was recalled, and two lords-justices were appointed to supply his place. Adam Loftus, Lord Viscount Ely, and Richard Boyle, Earl of Cork.

1632. King Charles appointed Thomas, Lord Viscount Wentworth, lord-deputy—a man of powerful mind, and deep insight into the causes from whence arose the miseries of the Irish; and, while he seemed to favour no party, he laboured indefatigably for the common welfare. With the priests alone, he was compelled to adopt a temporizing policy, but they were under the protection of a superior power, he could not prevent intrigue, however he might punish outrage. He was devoted to his unfortunate master, who was not worthy of such a servant.

There was one great object which the king, Archbishop Laud, and the lord-deputy, were unanimously desirous of obtaining—a decided union of the churches of England and Ireland, by establishing the articles and canons of the former, as the rule of doctrine and discipline in the latter kingdom. Usher disapproved of any attempt which militated against the independence of the church. To reconcile him to this measure, it was agreed that no censure should be passed on the Irish articles of which he had been the compiler; that they should be virtually, not formally abrogated, by the establishment of those of the Church of England; that, not the whole of the English canons should be received, but such only as might be most acceptable, selected from them, in order to form a rule of discipline for the

Church of Ireland. This was accordingly effected, more by the influence of the lord-deputy's authority, than the inclination of a great part of the clergy, though but one dissenting voice was heard in the convocation.

Subsequently a high-commission court was erected in Dublin, after the English model, with the same formalities, and the same tremendous powers. The chief governor always considered an increase of the revenue, and the supply of his royal master's necessities, as the great object to be secured. For this purpose, he materially benefitted Ireland, in protecting and extending commerce; in introducing manufactures; in guarding the coast; and, above all, in the first introduction of the linen trade, which afterwards brought much affluence and prosperity to the country.* There had been little exertion of this kind in Ireland: the only one which promised well was a woollen manufacture; this the lord-deputy discouraged, because the Irish could undersell the English traders. They could furnish wool in greater quantities, and of a superior quality.

1635. Wentworth formed the daring project of subverting every estate throughout Connaught to establish a new plantation in that province. Court-lawyers were employed to invalidate all patents granted, from the reign of Elizabeth, to the possessors of these lands. To ascertain the king's original title to Connaught, old

* "Lord Stafford expended £30,000 of his own money in encouraging the linen manufacture. When the papists and puritans conspired against the life of this great man, they denounced his exertions in favour of the linen trade, as *grievances*."—*Phelan*.

records of state and the memorials of ancient monasteries were ransacked. He succeeded in gaining the inhabitants of the counties of Leitrim, Roscommon, Mayo, and Sligo, to acknowledge the king's title.

The inhabitants of the county of Galway were nearly all Roman catholics, under the influence of their clergy, and recusant lawyers. Uliac, Earl of Clanricarde, was their governor—a nobleman powerfully allied, and highly esteemed at the court of England, where he now resided, still maintaining constant correspondence with his kinsmen at home. His own possessions, as well as theirs, were endangered by the royal claims; hence he became the zealous defender of his country; and supported by him, the jury refused to acknowledge the king's title. Wentworth, highly exasperated, laid a fine of £1000 upon the sheriff, and £4000 each upon the jurors, sentencing them to imprisonment until the fine was paid, and they acknowledged their offence upon their knees in court. These, and other instances of his tyrannical government, added to the number of his personal enemies.

1636. Wentworth quitted the reins of government for a time, in order to make a representation before the king and council of his good services in Ireland; and when he attempted to justify himself for the severe part of his administration, Charles interrupted him with the warmest terms of approbation, and a request that he would go on as he had begun, in the performance of the best service which the crown had ever received in Ireland.

He returned thither and pursued the same course,

which, how grievous soever to individuals, had great effect in producing a general composure throughout the kingdom. The revenues were considerably improved. The royal title to the possession of the O'Byrnes, in Wicklow, produced £15,000. The city of London was sued for breach of covenants in the plantations of Derry and Coleraine, and their forfeited lands were redeemed by a fine of £70,000. The new plantation of Connaught failed. The death of Uliac, the Earl of St. Albans, was attributed to the vexation he underwent at the attempt to deprive him of his property, by the lord-deputy, who had taken possession of the Earl's house at Portumna, and in his hall, held that court, which impeached his title to his lands.

By far the greater number who possessed power and influence among the inhabitants of Ireland, were Roman catholics, whose religion was tolerated from maxims of policy. "Peace, order, obedience, and industry, distinguished the present period from any former administration: the value of land was increased; commerce extended; the customs amounted to almost four times more than they did; the commodities exported from Ireland, exceeded in value, two-fold, the foreign merchandize imported; and shipping was found to have increased an hundred-fold. Such were the benefits derived from Lord Wentworth's administration; however, in many instances, justly unpopular, odious, and oppressive."*

At the first alarm of an insurrection in Scotland,

* Leland.

Lord Wentworth remitted to the king £30,000 from the Irish exchequer, besides a considerable addition from his own private property. The Irish army was reviewed and augmented.

Sorley-Buy (*i.e.* Charles the Yellow), with his marauding Scots, having driven the Mac Guilies into a narrow corner of their former territory, called the Glens or Vallies, possessed himself of the property, and lived on it until Sir John Perrot took Dunluce Castle,* and expelled him and his clan. Deprived of all, Sorley-Buy repaired to Dublin to make submission to the lord-

* Dunluce Castle covers the summit of a rock from sixty to eighty feet above the sea, and separated from the main land by a perpendicular fissure from fifty to sixty feet in depth, and about thirty feet in width. There is an archway of stone across, and there had been a corresponding one to admit of a moveable bridge of planks. The archway still remaining, being not more than fourteen inches wide, is the only way of access to the ruin, and is crossed with great hazard. Many do hazard it that they may look down from the dizzy height at the dashing of the sea against the rock, and the wild waves gushing into the fissure, and foaming round the rock. From the ruined castle on the top of the rock, the beautifully grand and varied promontories on the coast are seen in long perspective. The rocks are chiefly limestone, whinstone, and basalt. The distance from the Giant's Causeway about five miles. The western islands of Scotland are seen in the distance.

There is a legend relative to one of the small rooms in Dunluce Castle, the residence of the Mac Donnells, Earls of Antrim, of a curious nature. It is said to be inhabited by a *banshee*, whose chief occupation is sweeping the floor. This story originates, says "*Curry's Guide to the Giant's Causeway*," in the positive fact, that the floor is at all times as clean as if it had been just then swept; but this difficulty can be explained, without the introduction of *Maw Roi*, the fairy, by the fact that the wind gains admittance through an aperture on a level with the floor, and thus preserves the appearance of cleanliness and freedom from dust just now described.

deputy, which he did openly in the cathedral, with fervent supplications for mercy. He was afterwards admitted into the deputy's state room, where, seeing queen Elizabeth's picture upon a table, he flung away his sword, and prostrating himself on the ground, he vowed fealty to her majesty. After which, he was taken into favor, and ranked among the queen's Irish subjects. He openly renounced and abjured, in the Courts of Chancery and King's Bench, all service and allegiance to any foreign power whatsoever. The queen ceded to him, with great liberality, four *toughes*, *i.e.* territories or town-lands, Loghill and Ballamony, with the constablenesship of Dunluce Castle, to him and his heirs male, to be holden of the kings of England, upon condition that neither he, nor any of his posterity, should ever serve under a foreign prince without license from the King of England; that he and his race should commit no depredations whatsoever; that, in time of war, they should furnish twelve horsemen and forty foot soldiers, at their own charge, for forty days, and send to England an annual subsidy of cows, hawks, &c., for the king's use.*

Randal Mac Donnel, Earl of Antrim, was descended from the Scottish islanders who had settled in Ulster. His father had been created Viscount Dunluce by King James, and Charles advanced him to the earldom. The young lord had been educated in England, and had found favour with the queen. He made Charles believe that he had powerful adherents in Ulster, of

* Camden's *Ireland*.

whose faithful attachment he was firmly convinced; and offered to levy and maintain an army at his own expense, to make a descent upon the Scottish isles, where, he asserted, another numerous clan would be ready to assist him. The king willingly accepted of his services, but Wentworth entertained many doubts on the subject. The Earl of Antrim was grandson to the rebel Tyrone, and allied to those clans in Ulster, which still retained their aversion to the English government: for the king, it would be a dangerous experiment, to employ a popish army commanded by a popish general.

Wentworth represented his objections to Charles, but did not prevail with him; he being more strongly influenced by the queen and her partisans to consent that Antrim should undertake the expedition. Every assistance was afforded him, and a ship was freighted with arms for the use of his kinsmen, the Mac Donalds of the Isles.

Meanwhile, his affairs becoming more and more embarrassed, the king directed Wentworth to commit the government of Ireland into the hands of two lords-justices, and repair without delay to him. To prove his full approbation of the deputy's administration, Charles confirmed him in it, with the more honourable title of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and also created him Earl of Strafford, and a knight of the garter.

The king was too much under the influence of a papal envoy at his court, a popish minister in his cabinet, and a popish wife, to consent to any active measures subversive of that power which worked his ruin. All that

Wentworth could do, was to solicit the pope's agent that he would be pleased to restrain his monks *for the present*; or, that at least, he would induce the continental courts "to give a deafer ear to their clamour."*

In 1637 Strafford writes, "It is certain that the Irish abroad do hold, by means of the pope's clergy, continual intelligence with the mere Irish at home."

In another of his letters he says, "Popish Jesuits are very busy in the election of knights and burgesses; they call the people to their masses, and there charge them, *on pain of excommunication*, not to give their votes to protestants. I, therefore, purpose to question some of them; it being, indeed, a very insufferable thing for them thus to interfere in causes purely civil; and it is of passing ill consequence in warming and inflaming his majesty's subjects, one against another; and in the last resort, to bring it to a direct party of papist and protestant."

"If ever there was a weapon in the hands of men, that deserved to be called satanic, it is the papal sword of secret excommunication, which, by one invisible and inevitable stroke, cuts off its victims from the charities of the present life, and the hopes of the life to come."† The decree of the congregation, *de propagandâ fide*, gives the following statement, "If there be danger of a prosecution before the secular magistrates, the bishop may pass sentence without a written form, and in the presence of any two witnesses." This ample dispensation provided, at once, for the security and tyranny of

* Strafford's *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 331.

† Phelan.

the church: the destined victim, unconscious perhaps of guilt, and unapprehensive of danger, was dispatched by a species of spiritual assassination, which rumour whispered about; while the absence of written evidence, and the fidelity of the witnesses, secured the murderer from the civil authorities.

1640. The popish party in Ireland affected the most zealous and loyal attachment to the king. Strafford had nothing more to do than to issue orders for levying the parliamentary grants, and raising a new army. Both were effected with surprising despatch. The raising of the subsidies, he committed to his friend and deputy, Wandesworth. The Earl of Ormond chiefly had charge of the army, composed of eight thousand foot and one thousand horse; their destined place of rendezvous was Carrickfergus, where they drew up in gallant order and condition. Their officers were protestants, and one thousand of the private soldiers which had been drafted from the old army.

Strafford was the most arbitrary governor that was ever set over Ireland, yet the people knew how to appreciate his services. "In the month of March, 1640, the Irish commons unanimously decreed him the highest panegyric, which, perhaps, has ever been passed * upon the governor of an agitated country. Having voted a very liberal subsidy to the crown, they inserted in the preamble of their bill of supply, an encomium on the king's goodness to his Irish subjects; 'Especially in placing over us so just, wise, vigilant,

* Phelan.

and profitable a viceroy as the Earl of Strafford:—who has endeared himself to us, by his great care and travail of body and mind; by his sincere and upright administration of justice, without partiality; by his increase of your majesty's revenue, without the least hurt or grievance of the subject; by his diligence in obtaining for us the large and ample benefits we have received, and hope to receive, from the commission of graces; by his great pains, in the restoration of the church; by his reinforcement of the army, and his ordering of the same with singular good discipline, that it is now become a great stay and comfort to your whole kingdom:—by his support of your majesty's laws here established, his necessary and just strictness in the execution thereof; his countenance and encouragement of the judges, and other good officers, and his care to relieve the poor, and redress the oppressed.' ”

They added, moreover, that if the king required further supply, it should be most readily granted; and that, “their vote should be recorded, as an ordinance of parliament, and as a testimony to all the world, and to succeeding ages, that, as this kingdom has the happiness to be governed by the best of kings, so, they are desirous to give his majesty just cause to account this people among the best of his subjects.”

The current of public affairs glided on so smoothly at this time that there was no apparent apprehension of approaching danger. Protestants began to be ashamed of their fears; and many of the Roman catholics thought little of the prophecy, which foretold

a bloody triumph over heresy, and which the experience of forty years had not verified.

In April, Strafford was recalled from his government. Parliament assembled in June. The House of Commons was composed of three parties,—the royalists, the puritans, and the papal recusants—by far the most numerous. The two last coalesced in opposition to the royalists or churchmen, equally offensive to both parties, because of their temporal ascendancy, and their religious moderation.

In three months time, such a change had taken place in the temper of these parties, that all which had been done in the last session, was undone in this.

Carte observes, “that though shame has a powerful influence in restraining individuals, it never enters into bodies of men. Those, whose hearts they declared contained *mines* of subsidies for the best of kings, now complained of the intolerable pressure of that supply, which, in their loyal munificence, they had voted; and now, by mean artifices, reduced to less than one-half of the amount. They retracted all their praises of Strafford’s government, and drew up a formal protestation, in both houses, against their own encomium. They pronounced it false, extorted from them by fear of this tyrannical viceroy; and asked the king’s permission to erase it from the record of their journals.

“The charges brought against him were that ‘trade had been injured by illegal impositions; merchants had been condemned to extreme hardships; monopolies multiplied; the promised graces refused; proceedings

in civil causes managed contrary to law, and to the great charter; parliament deprived of its legitimate freedom; exorbitant fees exacted by the ecclesiastical and civil courts; the nobles and gentry were oppressed by over-rating them in the assessment of the parliamentary grants; and the people aggrieved by enforcing the laws enacted against the use of the Irish apparel; *against ploughing by the tail; against burning corn in straw; and against tearing the wool from living sheep.*”

A deputation of five puritans and eight Romanists was paid by the commons, and despatched with these complaints, to assist in the prosecution of the Earl of Strafford, who had a powerful host of enemies determined on his destruction, and to effect their purpose, set every engine to work.

The sudden death of the deputy Wandsworth made it necessary to appoint another; the Earl of Ormond was nominated by Strafford; but, not being approved of by the Irish committee, the king appointed lords-justices, chosen for the two contending parties; Lord Dillon and Sir William Parsons. Remonstrances against Lord Dillon prevailed with the king to substitute Sir John Borlase: neither of the justices were possessed of abilities requisite to govern. Charles made several other weak concessions. But the weakest of all, was the sacrifice of his faithful friend and servant, Strafford, who was tried, attainted, and beheaded on Tower Hill, on the 12th of May, 1641.

“The same year, on the 28th of August, the deputation returned with the bills, for the redress of all the

grievances, and the concession of all the graces : they were to be passed in form upon the opening of the new session in November; and, in the meantime, it was carefully announced through the kingdom, that the royal assent had been given by anticipation.”

Before the close of the last year, the king had sent information to the lords-justices, Borlase and Parsons, “that an unspeakable number of Irish churchmen, with some good old soldiers, had passed over from the continent, and that the Irish friars abroad were in expectation of a rebellion.”*

Priests and cavaliers arrived, bringing assurances of succour from the pope and Cardinal Richelieu. The Spanish court too, it was said, gave similar encouragement. Meetings were being held by the leading ecclesiastics and a few lay chiefs, in an old Franciscan abbey, in the county of Westmeath. This edifice had been purchased by a recusant alderman of Dublin, and restored to its owners at the dissolution of the monasteries.

An unusual resort of visitors to the old abbey attracted observation, and induced some timid or obnoxious protestants to quit the country. In all other parts of Ireland an uninterrupted stillness prevailed—no sound of alarm or preparation for tumult throughout the summer. A remarkable declaration had been made twenty-seven years before, that “whenever a favourable accident should happen, the Sicilian vespers would be acted in Ireland; and ere a cloud of mischief ap-

* Phelan's *Church of Rome in Ireland*.

peared, the swords of the natives would be in the throats of the Scotch and new English, through every part of the realm.”* The prediction was literally fulfilled, with one exception,—the insurgents were ordered to spare the Scotch settlers. On the 23rd of October the carnage began; on the 30th, the order was issued for a general massacre, from the camp of Sir Phelim O’Neil; and the manifesto of the Bishop Mac Mahon, proclaimed the commencement of a war of religion.”†

The name of Roger O’Moore stands pre-eminent as the instigator of the diabolical rebellion and massacre of 1641. His ancestors had princely possessions in Leinster, from whence they were expelled in the reign of Mary. The hereditary hatred of the sept to the English intruders was kept up from generation to generation. Roger O’Moore, of the present time, was allied, by intermarriages, to several of the old English, and held intercourse with the noblest and most civilized of their race. His manners were polished, and his hatred of English government confirmed, by a residence, in his youth, on the continent. His most intimate friend and companion was the son of the rebel Earl of Tyrone, who had obtained a regiment in Spain. The intimacy of these young men, and the similarity of their circumstances, had the effect of rousing their indignation against the despoilers of their patrimony; and, with deep-laid plans, they returned to their native land.

* *Discourse of Ireland in the Desiderata Curiosa*, i. 435.

† Phelan.

O'Moore went cautiously to work, first gaining the confidence of the people by the affectionate warmth of his demeanour. He was calculated to win the hearts of the Irish, who are too easily captivated with the outward appearance. That of O'Moore was remarkably prepossessing. To the native dignity of a high-born Irishman were added handsome features, a fine person, and graceful address. Such a noble representative of one of their long-venerated families, was enthusiastically welcomed. They gloried in him; made him the hero of their songs; and declared that their "whole dependance was upon God, our Lady, and Rory O'Moore."

He easily influenced Richard Plunket to unite with him; he was the son of Sir Christopher, who, when Chichester was governor, had been a leader of opposition in the Irish parliament. He also applied himself, successfully, to the chief Irishmen of Ulster, among whom, Connor Mac Guire, Baron of Enniskillen, was the first: the very opposite in character to O'Moore, being low-minded, licentious, proud, and impatient.

Mac Mahon,* Philip Reily, and Turlogh, the brother of Sir Phelim O'Neil, joined the confederacy.

It was finally determined that they should surprise the castle of Dublin, on the 23rd day of October. O'Moore, Byrne, Mac Guire, and Captain Brien O'Neil,

* Mac Mahon, Chief of Monaghan, holden by tanistry, surrendered his district to the queen, and procured a re-grant from the crown, to himself and his heirs-male. Upon his dying without issue, his brother Hugh claimed the inheritance, and was committed to prison.

undertook this daring enterprise, with two hundred men of Ulster and Leinster.

Sir Phelim O'Neil was appointed to seize Londonderry; Sir Henry O'Neil, Carrickfergus, and Sir Con Magennis (the brother-in-law of Sir Phelim O'Neil), was to take possession of Newry.

As the day approached, the conspirators slowly advanced towards Dublin, and assembled, on the evening of the 22nd of October. The whole would have remained undiscovered until the tremendous perpetration of their plot, but for the merciful interposition of providence, which directed the disclosure by means of an intoxicated servant (Owen O'Connolly),—for they had spent that night in a carousal, and, on their knees, drank success to their enterprise.

Mac Mahon was first seized, and, afterwards, Mac Guire:—the others escaped. After some hesitation, Mac Mahon made a full confession; but boasted that the insurrection was too widely spread, and too well ordered, to be subdued, and that, if he suffered death, the hour of vengeance was at hand.

In Ulster their operations were too successful. We shall give but a slight sketch of the horrible narrative. On the evening of the 22nd, Sir Phelim O'Neil surprised Charlemont; Lord Caulfield, a brave veteran officer, was the governor of the fort. He had lived contented and unsuspecting, in his old age, among his Irish neighbours: whom he had always entertained hospitably. Sir Phelim had but to say that he was come to take his supper with him to gain free admittance, with his followers. On a signal given, the whole

family were seized, the garrison made prisoners, and the castle plundered.

From hence O'Neil proceeded to Dungannon, and took possession of the fort. The town and castle of Mountjoy next fell into their hands: also Tandragee and Newry were delivered up to Sir Con Magennis. The insurgents made several English gentlemen prisoners, and got possession of a large quantity of arms and ammunition. Roger, the brother of Lord Mac Guire, ravaged Fermanagh; and the sept of Mac Mahon were equally successful in Monaghan. Derry, Coleraine, Lisburn, and Carrickfergus, held out against the boisterous shocks of the rebels. Enniskillen was secured by Sir William Cole.

O'Reilly, the member for the county of Cavan, and his brother, the sheriff, engaged deeply and systematically in this diabolical rebellion. The sheriff summoned the Roman catholic inhabitants to arms, and marched at their head, in military order, taking possession of towns, forts, and castles. The Romish sheriffs of Longford and Leitrim did the same. All the castles, houses, and plantations, of the English settlers were seized; and in the short space of eight days, the entire counties of Tyrone, Monaghan, Longford, Leitrim, Fermanagh, Cavan, Donegal, and the greater part of Derry, together with parts of Armagh and Down, were in the hands of the enemy. At first, the English were driven out of their habitations, naked and defenceless, exposed to the rigour of an unusually severe winter. Many lay fainting and dying by the wayside, unable to reach any place of shelter.

By the confession of some of the rebels, it appears that Colonel Brian O'Neil imbrued his hands in the blood of one thousand protestants.

In the parish of Donoghmore, in the county of Down, the papists collected at Glyn, or Glynwood, the ancient residence of the Magennises: and, in a thicket, they slaughtered above twelve hundred naked defenceless protestants.

“Fourscore men, women, and children, English and Scottish, were sent, by direction of Sir Phelim O'Neil, from the county of Armagh, to Clanboys, in the county of Down, where they were met by Captain Phelim Mac Art Mac Brien, and his company of rebels, mostly of his own sept, who carried and forced all these protestants to a lough, called Lough Kernan (Lough Erne*), in the same county, and forced them upon the ice,—men, women, and children. Finding the ice so frozen that they could not be drowned, they forced them as far as they could upon the ice: but not daring to pursue them, for fear of breaking the ice under their own feet, they took the sucking children from their parents, and, with all their strength, threw them, as far as they were able, towards the place where the ice was weak; whereupon, their parents, nurses, and friends, in striving to fetch off the children, went so far that they broke the ice, and both they and the children perished together by drowning, all save one man that escaped from them wounded, and one woman.” †

* Borlase.

† “Deposition of Peter Hill, Esq., sworn by virtue of a commission from the government, on the 29th May, 1645.”—*Ancient and Present State of the County of Down.*

In short, the popish population rose *en masse*. Men, women, and children, joining in the work of destruction, neither men, women, nor children were spared. Thousands were burned in their houses; multitudes were drowned in the rivers; numbers lay mangled and dying on the high-ways; some were starved to death in dungeons; others buried alive: they were dragged through bogs and brambles; hung up by the arms; boiled to death; stoned, &c.*

That there were no less than one hundred and fifty thousand men, women, and children, most barbarously and satanically murdered, in the first four months of the rebellion, was apparent by substantial proofs, at the King's Bench, at the trial of Mac Guire.

In the trial of Connor, Lord Mac Guire, Sir Charles Coote's testimony, concerning the generality of the rebellion, is as follows:—"Sir Phelim O'Neil and Roger Moore were the actors in the massacres, and by public directions of some, in place, and of titular bishops, for the sending of an exact account of what persons were murdered throughout all Ulster, a fourth part of the kingdom of Ireland, to the parish priests in every parish: and they sent in a particular account of it; and the account was an hundred and four thousand seven hundred, in one province, in the first three months of the rebellion."†

Sir William Temple, in his "History of the Irish Rebellion," says, "If we look into the sufferings of

* See Hone's *Life of Bedel*.

† *State Trials*, v. 1.

the first Christians, under the tyranny and cruel persecutions of the heathen emperors, we shall not certainly find any one kingdom, though of a far larger extent than Ireland, where more Christians suffered, or more unparalleled cruelties were acted within the space of the first two months after the breaking out of this rebellion."

Forty thousand are mentioned by Rapin and Hume as the number of protestants massacred in 1641.

But the statements of many who were in Ireland at that time, and living authors, then in England, say that there were two hundred thousand or more.

The testimony of such a man as Richard Baxter is important—

"But of all the rest, there was nothing that with the people wrought so much, as the Irish massacre and rebellion. The Irish papists did, by an unexpected insurrection, rise all over Ireland at once, and seized upon almost all the strengths of the whole land; and Dublin wonderfully escaped (a servant of Sir John Clotworthy's discovering the plot), which was to have been surprised with the rest, October 23, 1641.

"Two hundred thousand persons they murdered, (as you may see in the Earl of Orary's answer to a petition; and in Dr. Jones's narrative of the examinations; and Sir John Temple's history, who was one of the resident justices.)

"Men, women, and children were cruelly used. Thousands of those that escaped, came stript, and almost famished, to Dublin, and afterwards into England, to beg their bread. Multitudes of them were

driven together into rivers, and cast over bridges and drowned.

“In a word, scarce any history mentioneth the like barbarous cruelty as this was. The French massacre murdered but thirty or forty thousand; but *two hundred thousand* was a number which astonished those that heard it.

“This filled all England with a fear, both of the Irish, and of the papists at home; for they supposed that the priests and the interest of their religion were the cause: insomuch, that when the rumour of a plot was occasioned at London, the poor people, all the countries over, were ready, either to run to arms, or hide themselves, thinking that the papists were ready to rise and cut their throats. And when they saw the English papists join with the king and parliament, it was the greatest thing that ever alienated them from the king.

“Hereupon, the parliament was solicitous to send help to Dublin, lest that also should be lost. The king was so forward to that service, that he prest the parliament that he might go over himself. The parliament liked that worst of all, as if they had been confident that ill counsellors advised him to it; that he might get at the head of two armies, and unite them both against the parliament, and, by his absence, make a breach, and hinder the proceedings of the houses.

“Those that came out of Ireland represent the woful case of it, and the direful usage of the protestants, so as provoked the people to think that it was impossible that any danger to them could be greater than their

participation of the like. The few that were left at Dublin got into arms, but complained of their necessities, and the multitude of their enemies ! So that an hundred were used to fight against a thousand; and to increase the flame, some Irish rebels told them, that they *had the king's commission* for what they did; which, though the soberer part could not believe, yet the credulous, timorous vulgar, were many of them ready to believe it : and the English soldiers (under Sir Charles Cootes, the Lord *Incheguin*, &c.) sent over word that it was the common feast of the Irish, that when they had done with the handful that was left in Ireland, they would come over into England, and deal with the parliament and protestants here. These threatenings, with the names of two hundred thousand murdered, and the recital of their monstrous cruelties, made many thousands in England think that nothing could be more necessary than for the parliament to put the country into an armed posture for their own defence. And that side which the papists of England took, they could hardly think would be their security.”*

At the breaking out of the rebellion, the castle of Lismore was besieged by five thousand Irish, commanded by Sir Richard Beling; and bravely defended by the Earl of Cork's third son, the young Lord Broghil, who forced the rebels to raise the siege. In writing to his father he thus concludes his letter:—
“I have sent my quarter-master to know the posture

* Mr. Richard Baxter's *Narrative of his Life and Times*, published from his own original manuscripts in 1696. Part i. page 28, 29.

of the enemy; they were, as I am informed by those who were in the action, five thousand strong, and well-armed, and that they intend to take Lismore. When I have received certain intelligence, if I am a third part of their number, I will meet them to-morrow morning, and give them one blow before they besiege us; if their numbers be such that it would be more folly than valour, I shall make good this place which I am in.

“I tried one of the ordnances made at the forge, and it held with a pound charge, so that I shall plant it upon the terrace over the river. My lord, fear nothing for Lismore; if it be lost, it shall be with the life of him that begs your lordship’s blessing, and styles himself your lordship’s most humble, most obliged, and most dutiful son and servant.

“BROGHIL.” *

The manor of Lismore, and other lands, had been granted to Sir Walter Raleigh, at the yearly rent of £13 6s. 8d. Sir Richard Boyle made a purchase of the whole property from Raleigh, and made great improvements, in beautifying the castle and grounds, and adding many buildings, most of which were burned during this rebellion.

The castle is boldly situated on the verge of a hill, upwards of sixty feet perpendicular, over the Black-water river. Another attempt was made upon it in 1642. A man, named Philip O’Cleary, perceiving a party about to set fire to the castle, cried, with a loud voice, “*Corabo.*” Most of these men had been raised

* Smith’s *Waterford*. Cox, *Hist.*

in Butler's country. The alarm given to Lord Broghil's troops, within the castle, saved it; they pursued the rebels to the mountains with great slaughter: nothing more was effected than the burning of a few cottages, and killing on the spot the man who had given the alarm.

During the time of the rebellion, the Earl of Cork kept about two hundred English, mostly his own tenants, in pay: these, with his son Dungarvan, in compliance with the lord-president's directions, shut themselves up in Youghal, which was the only refuge of the distressed protestants in those parts.

Seven thousand protestants, at Bandon, under Lord Kinalmeaky, and three of the Earl of Cork's sons, evinced the most undaunted resolution. The Bandon men, without any other assistance, made many successful sallies against the rebels, from whom they took various castles. Lord Kinalmeaky was killed at the battle of Liscarol, also one of the earl's sons, whose youngest brother endangered his own life in recovering the dead body, which he brought off, together with the horse from which it had fallen.

The Earl of Cork maintained one hundred men at his castle of Askeaton, in the county of Limerick. Lord Barrymore, who was his son-in-law, maintained a troop of horse at his own expense, and two hundred foot, which he kept in the field. Being a Roman catholic, the Irish rebels of Munster offered him the command of their forces, which he rejected with scorn. He gave his assistance to the Earl of Cork, and his sons, the Lords Dungarvan and Broghil, at the holding of ses-

sions, by commissions granted them for that purpose, in the counties of Cork and Waterford. They indicted the Lord Viscounts Roche, Mountgarret, Ikerin, and Muskerry; the Barons of Dunboyne, Castleconnel, and Loughmore; Theobald Butler, the eldest son of Lord Cahir, and Richard Butler, Esq., of Kilcash, brother of the Earl of Ormond, and others: in number more than one thousand, all of whom had been engaged in the rebellion of the above counties. The Earl of Cork sent the indictment to the English House of Commons.

This mode of proceeding, while it terrified the rebels, increased their resentment against the earl and his family.

Over the gate of his castle his arms are placed, with "God's Providence is our inheritance," for his motto. The distinguished Robert Boyle was born in this castle. Marks of the rebellion are still traced here, in the ruins of buildings never since repaired. Smith says, "There are, at present, a free-school and an alms-house in Lismore, which were originally founded by Sir Walter Raleigh, but rebuilt, augmented, and established, by the first Earl of Cork." Sir Richard Cox, in the preface to his second volume, observes, that "this noble earl was one of the most extraordinary persons either that or any other age hath produced, with respect to the great and just acquisitions of estate that he made, and the public works which he began and finished, for the advancement of the English interest, and the protestant religion in Ireland—as churches, alms-houses, free-schools, castles, and towns; insomuch, that when Oliver Cromwell saw those prodigious improvements, which he

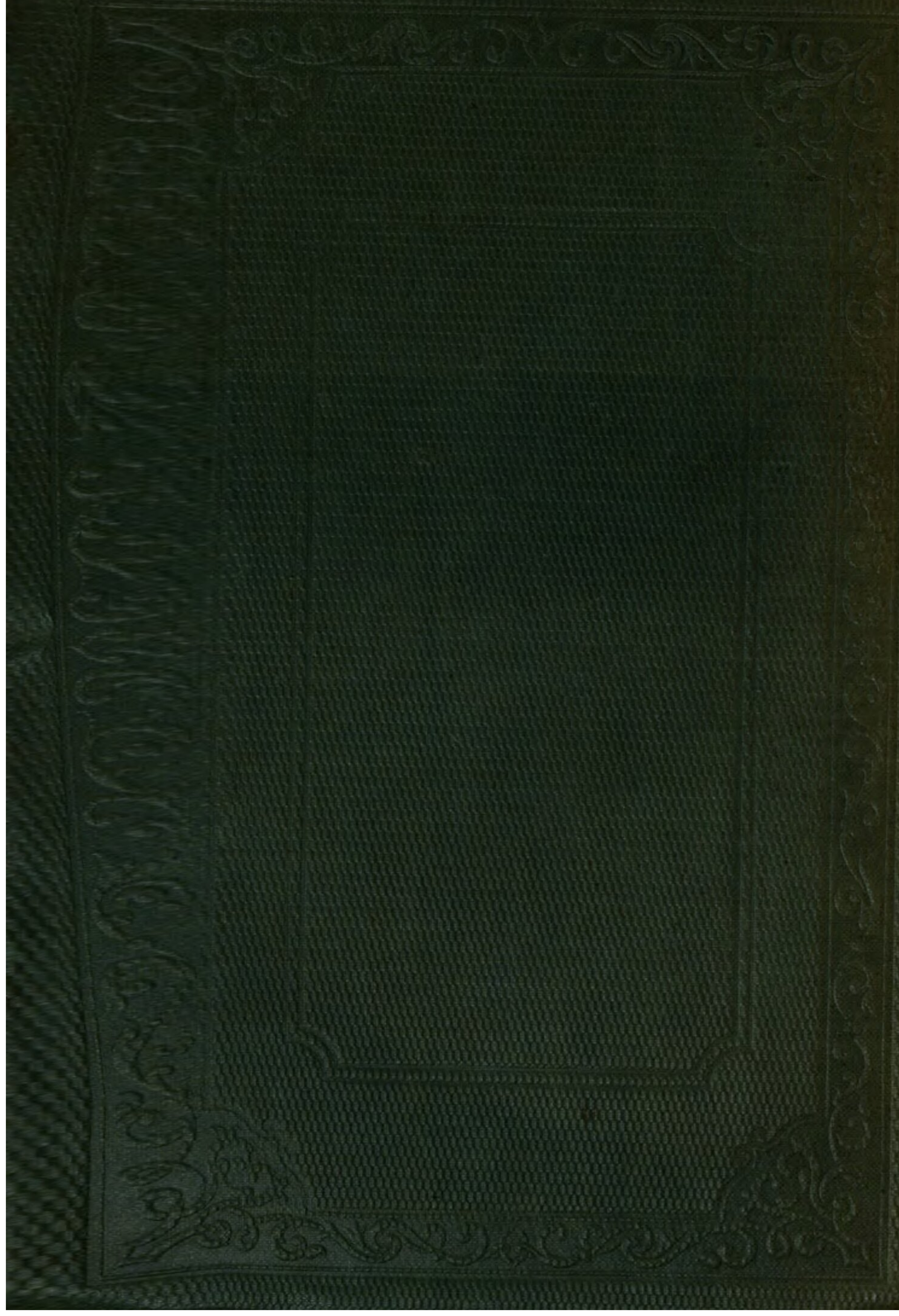
little expected to find in Ireland, he declared, that if there had been an Earl of Cork in every province, it would have been impossible for the Irish to have raised a rebellion. And while he was carrying on these solid works, he lived, in his family, at a rate of plenty, that exceeded those who consumed great estates. His motto, above-mentioned, shows that he justly acknowledged the source from whence he derived all his blessings,—the greatest of which was his numerous and noble posterity to succeed him.” *

Two other distinguished individuals, whom the Lord raised up, at this sifting time, for the support of His church, deserve a more enlarged notice; and though numerous memoirs of Usher and Bedell have appeared in print, I hope I shall be excused in dedicating an entire chapter to a succinct narrative of these eminently useful and conspicuous characters.

* Smith's *Waterford*.

END OF VOL I.





Martin, Selina

Summary of Irish history, from the reign of Henry II. to the beginning of
the present century; with an introductory chapter

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